JANUARY 1984 — 6 French francs

The Unesco Courier

1984

A time to live...

21

BANGLADESH

Brooms and baskets

Located in the delta plain of the Ganga and the Brahmaputra rivers, Bangladesh is a predominantly agrarian country with a population of over 90 million. It is the world's largest producer of jute and its main industry is the production of yarns and textile fabrics. Cottage industries and the traditional crafts still flourish. Left, a vendor of brooms and baskets hawks his wares in the streets of Jessore, a town near the country's western border.

Photo © Ron Giling, Arnhem, Netherlands

The Unesco Courier

A window open on the world

JANUARY 1984 **37th YEAR**

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English	*Tamil*	*Korean*
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Russian	*Dutch*	*Macedonian*
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Arabic	*Turkish*	*Slovene*
Japanese	*Urdu*	*Chinese*
Italian	*Catalan*	*Bulgarian*
Hindi	*Malaysian*	*Greek*

A selection in Braille is published quarterly in English, French, Spanish and Korean

Published monthly by UNESCO
The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
Editorial, Sales and Distribution Offices
Unesco, Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris
Subscription rates
1 year: 58 French Francs; 2 years (valid only in France): 100 French Francs
Binder for a year's issues: 46 FF

Editor-in-chief: Edouard Glissant

ISSN 0041 - 5278
No. 1 - 1984 - OPI - 83-1 - 406 A

Cover photo © Bargy, Paris

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Editorial

THE calendar is to a large degree a social convention, and each new year does not necessarily usher in innovation and novelty. All the same, the beginning of the year, like the beginning of a decade or a century, provides a regular opportunity to take stock, to test the pulse of humanity.

At the beginning of 1984 we have chosen to examine three of the many questions which are preoccupying the human community: the effects of the economic crisis; the latest trends in psychological research; and the thrust of a criminality which seems generally to be rising.

We invited two specialists to contribute to the debate on each of these issues, one from an industrialized country, one from a developing country. This is not meant as an endorsement of one of the accepted ways of delineating the world today, but as an attempt to present a diversity of analytical viewpoints and processes and, perhaps, to reveal points of agreement which transcend the inevitable divergences.

It goes without saying that we are not claiming in this number to cover the most important threats or promises confronting humankind today—problems of hunger and health, knowledge for all, peace, justice, and harmony among peoples. The studies in this issue do, however, have roots in such problems and make it possible to explore their often hidden complexities if not to propose potential solutions.

Nor is it in accordance with convention that we open this issue with an analysis of the case of George Orwell, which is being widely studied and questioned in this month of January 1984. Over and above the political controversy or the so-called prophetic nature of the work, the question remains of man's anxiety in face of his own "modernity". Is it not the machine-State more than the totalitarian State that is at issue here? And does not the reaction to such a danger of robotization lead man to fall prey, paradoxically, to attitudes that are regressive or invalid?

The sharpness of these debates should not obliterate our common hope, reaffirmed by the twenty-second session of Unesco's General Conference held at the Organization's Paris Headquarters from 25 October to 26 November 1983. The Unesco Courier *presents its best wishes for 1984 to its readers and to all men and women of goodwill throughout the world.*

Edouard Glissant

George Orwell, a 'Tory anarchist'

by Jacques Charpier

SOMETIMES the anniversary of the birth or death of an author, or of the date of publication of a book, offers an opportunity to pay tribute to universal culture by lighting candles which in many cases shed only a brief flicker of light on a writer or his work. This year is somewhat different; it is itself the title of a book—George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*—which since it was published over thirty years ago has made its author world famous.

Orwell, whose real name was Eric Arthur Blair, was born at Motihari in Bengal on 25 June 1903. His father, Richard Walmesley Blair, was in the Opium Department of the Government of India. Eric's family belonged to the outer reaches of the Establishment. His great grandfather (died 1820) had been a rich planter in Jamaica who had married into the aristocracy but had died a poor man. His youngest son, Eric's grandfather, after briefly studying at Cambridge, was obliged through indigence to make a career in the Church of England. His son, Eric's father, became a minor colonial civil servant at the age of eighteen. Somewhat late in life he married Ida Mabel Limouzin, daughter of a French teak merchant and boatbuilder. Risky speculations in rice brought the Limouzins down in the world. This relative social decline may shed some light on the personality of the future author of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and on a certain ambiguity that can be sensed in him. He said that he belonged to "the lower upper middle class".

His parents' relatively modest situation did not prevent them from sending him to Eton, where he studied Latin, Greek, mathematics and divinity, and rowed and played cricket. He seems to have been an average student, but he was already determined to become a "famous author".

Like some of his fellow pupils, Eric displayed a certain refusal to conform. He read Bernard Shaw, H.G. Wells, and Galsworthy, and "loosely described myself as a Socialist". One question in a general knowledge paper at school in 1920 was "Whom do you consider the ten greatest men now living?" Blair, like fifteen out of sixteen in the class, included Lenin in his list. Either because of his mediocrity as a student or, more likely, because of his family's financial straits, he did not go on from Eton to Oxford. Instead, he became a trainee at the Burma Provincial Police Training School at Mandalay, graduating at the age of twenty-one as an Assistant Superintendent of Police in the British colonial administration. About the details of Blair's life during his five years in Burma not much is known, but we do know that he was torn between two feelings: a certain distance from the colonialized peoples and a growing rejection of British imperialism and colonialism. His Burmese experience was probably much more important than his unconventional reading at Eton as a source of his "socialism", and from it he developed his critique of imperialism and of capitalism in general.

In 1927 Blair resigned. "I gave it up", he wrote later, "mainly because I could not go on any longer serving an imperialism which I had come to regard as very largely a racket".

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Back in England, Eric Blair's vocation to become a "famous author" took practical shape: he decided to start to write. An unusual period of his life now began. Even though he was in poor health, there was no question of living off his family. However, I do not think that it was for such simple and immediate moral reasons that he chose to live as a vagrant in Paris and London. In his first published book, *Down and Out in Paris and London* (when he adopted the pseudonym George Orwell), he stressed the literary nature of his work, and it is true that he published a number of articles at this period. He also refers to two novels which he claims to have written then, but all trace of them has disappeared. It is not impossible that his deliberate decision to live the life of a tramp was taken for other reasons. He was not, in the narrow sense of the term, politically minded. His unconventionality at Eton and his criticisms of British imperialism did not go far enough to mould his behaviour. On the other hand it cannot be ruled out that there were psychological impulses behind his excursions into vagabondage. He was aware of belonging to the "lower upper middle class" which was simultaneously linked to and excluded from the Establishment, conscious of its poverty yet remote from the "people", stripped of its ancient privileges but still attached to certain traditions. Let us say that there was a "bourgeois" streak in Eric Blair and also, possibly, some unconscious failing which had given rise to certain feelings of guilt. I would not go so far as to say that during the *Down and Out* years Orwell was taking part in a play in which he

Photo © Dakin family, United Kingdom

George Orwell—his real name was Eric Blair—was born at Motihari, in Bengal, on 25 June 1903. He is seen above, aged six weeks in the arms of his *ayah* (nursemaid).

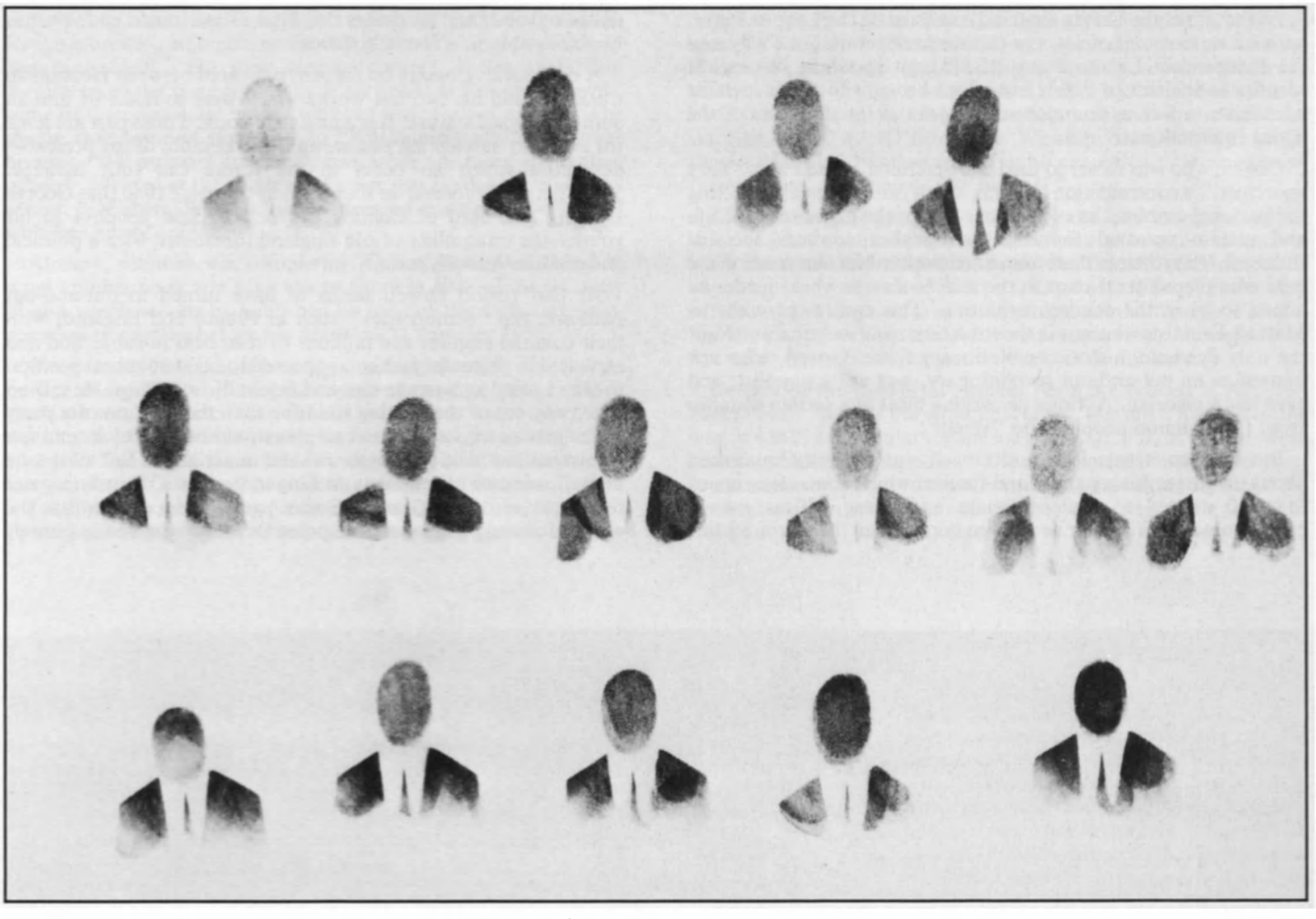


Photo © Saul Steinberg

***Passport Photos,* 1955, ink on paper, a composition of fingerprints by the US artist Saul Steinberg.**

was both the actor and the only spectator, but it is not impossible that he had, in every respect, assumed a disguise. In one episode in *Down and Out in Paris and London,* he changes into the outfit of a "poor man" and recognizes that "my new clothes had put me instantly into a new world", acting as a kind of passport from the universe of the bourgeoisie to that of the proletariat. And he is delighted when a hawker astonishingly addresses him as "mate".

Was Eric Blair looking for exotic social experiences which he could use for a literary purpose, or was he a guilt-ridden young member of the bourgeoisie searching for redemption through mixing with the poor and imitating the way they lived? These two hypotheses are not irrelevant to an attempt to understand the personality of Blair-Orwell. Whatever the answer to the puzzle, it is a fact that between 1928 and 1930 George Orwell was preparing to enter literature in the garb of a vagrant.

Although not yet the "famous author" he had wished to become when at Eton, he began to take part in London literary life. He contributed to the *Adelphi* magazine. He became interested in the social and economic conditions of the hop-pickers. He looked for work, and took a teaching post at a small private school in Middlesex. He wrote for the *New English Weekly* and *The New Statesman and Nation.* He completed *Burmese Days.* Clearly inspired by its author's experiences in Burma, this novel examines the problem of the relationship between the white man and the indigenous population, and denounces the subtle and not-so-subtle dialectic between colonizers and colonized. This is not the classic master-slave dialectic but one which, as V.S. Pritchett wrote later, makes for a situation in which "oppression creates hypocrisy and that hypocrisy corrupts"—a formula that suggests the nuances of Orwell's attitude to the colonial problem at that time. Not that his denunciation of imperialism was the weaker for it.

Orwell had become a writer. In October 1934 he completed a second novel, *The Clergyman's Daughter,* a work with which he was dissatisfied and which he regarded merely as an exercise. It tells the story of Dorothy, who escapes from the family and social prison to which she is condemned and who, as far as some of the incidents she experiences are concerned, bears a close sisterly resemblance to her creator; she goes off to live with down-and-outs and hop-pickers, becomes a schoolmistress and then returns home. It is hard to know what significance Orwell attached to this "unhappy end". He was already at work on a new novel, *Keep the Aspidistra Flying,* a fierce denunciation of money, of mercantile society, of the havoc lack of money causes in individual and collective destinies, of the profit neurosis, and the worship of the golden calf.

The tone of this novel reflects a sense of moral condemnation rather than an ideological anti-capitalist stand, just as the anti-colonialism of *Burmese Days* is indistinguishably bound up with moral comment. In discussing *Keep the Aspidistra Flying,* however, critics of Orwell's works hasten to point out another facet of the novel—its pacifism. Gordon Comstock, its main hero, is haunted by visions of a future war which, prophetically, he sees as being waged principally in the sky. The year is 1935, not so long before Guernica, the Stuka dive-bombers of the *blitzkrieg* in France and the bombing raids of the Battle of Britain.

Shortly after he had finished *Keep the Aspidistra Flying,* in January 1936, his publisher, Gollancz, commissioned Orwell to write a book about the condition of the unemployed in the north of England. Orwell set off immediately for the north where he was to remain for two months, living with militant trade unionists and visiting cotton mills and coal-mines. He carried out a journalistic, on-the-spot enquiry worthy of a specialist in economic and social problems—which he was not—which was to form the basis of a book published the following year entitled *The Road to Wigan Pier,* Wigan being an industrial centre particularly hard hit by unemployment and short-time working.

Wigan Pier was not just a straight reporting assignment. In its way it is typical of Orwell's literary style in which fiction is mixed with autobiographical detail and with descriptions from real life. What is more, the book contains a number of comments which betray Orwell as being still tributary to a middle-class conception of society and of revolution. ▶

▶ At that time, the Left in England consisted of the Labour Party, with its various tendencies, the (orthodox) Communist Party and the Independent Labour Party (ILP), a group whose ideological identity is difficult to define but which brought together socialist humanists as well as communists opposed to the doctrines of the Third International.

Orwell, who was closer to the ILP, described himself as a "Tory anarchist", a contradiction in terms which can be seen as reflecting the personal ambiguities of someone whom the experiences of life and certain personal fantasies had pushed towards socialist theories. Nevertheless there remained within him the man of the past who placed great trust in the middle-classes whose leader he aimed to be in the coming revolution. This contrasted with the Marxist-Leninists who saw in the Proletariat and its "dictatorship" the only dynamic, historic revolutionary force. Orwell, who saw himself as an out-and-out revolutionary, was not a populist, and even less a plebeian. At times his writing hints at a certain distance from the common people, who "smell".

But by then it was 1936 and Orwell was seriously concerned about the threat from nazism and fascism which some elements of the Left tended to under-estimate and shrug off as merely epiphenomena. Eric Blair decided to take part in the war in Spain.

dozen of the other" and that this kind of war could end, even in England, only in a fascist solution.

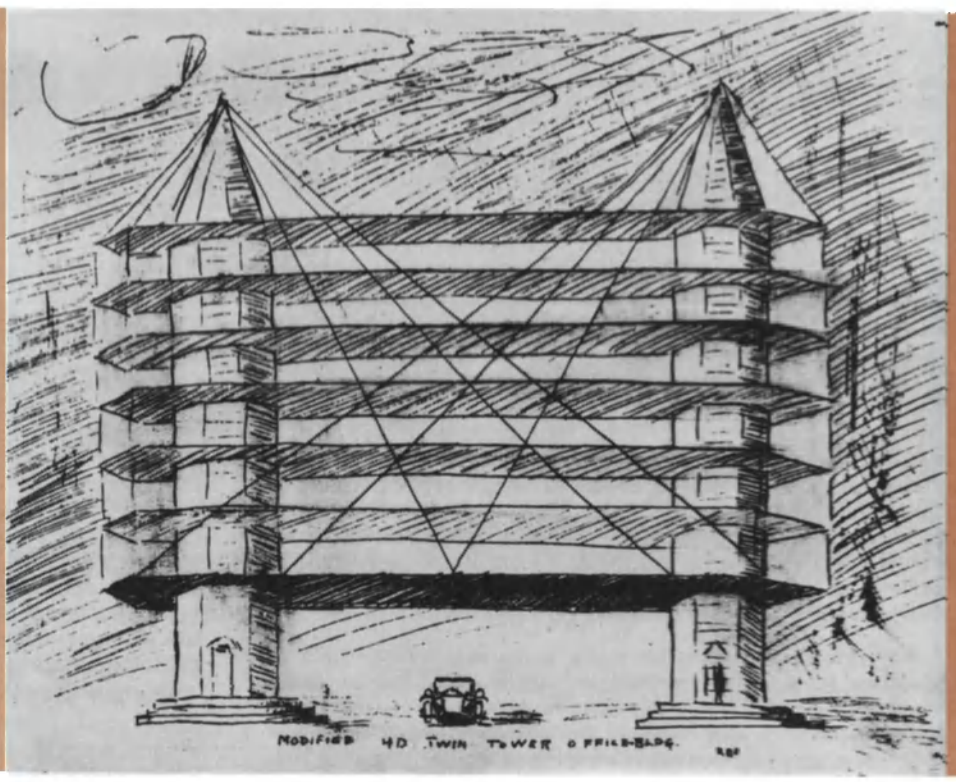
A new novel, *Coming up for Air,* appeared between *Homage to Catalonia* and his two last works which were to make of him an author of world stature. It is a nostalgic book. Times past are gone for ever and unrelenting pessimism is the keynote of the present—pessimism which no belief in the future can fully assuage. Something died forever in the world at the same time that George Bowling (the hero of *Coming up for Air)* said goodbye to his youth—the tranquillity of old England threatened with a political and warlike Apocalypse.

At that period Orwell seems to have turned to out-and-out pacifism; the "democracies" such as France and England, with their colonial empires and millions of men held in subjection and exploited in shameful fashion, appeared to be in no moral position to take a stand against the nazi and fascist dictatorships. He saw no other way out of the existing situation than the creation of a party of the masses whose aims and actions would be fired by a common determination to oppose both war and imperialism. But all this he himself seems to have seen as nothing more than a pious hope, and the signature of the German/Soviet pact convinced him that the war had already begun. At this point Orwell discovered in himself

"In the early 20th century the vision of a future society unbelievably rich, leisured, orderly and efficient—a glittering antiseptic world of glass and steel and snow-white concrete—was part of the consciousness of nearly every literate person." (George Orwell in *Nineteen Eighty-Four).* Right, *4D Time Lock: Modified 4D Twin Tower Office Building, A-1-13,* 1927. Mimeo drawing by Buckminster Fuller.

This work and that reproduced on page 5 were part of the exhibition *Dreams and Nightmares: Utopian Visions in Modern Art* at the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Photo © Buckminster Fuller



He turned once again to his friends of the ILP and finally ended up in Barcelona, in the ranks of the POUM *(Partido Obrero de Unificacion Marxista,* the United Marxist Workers' Party).

Unlike a number of other intellectuals, Eric Blair did not go to Spain as a humanist, literary tourist. He went to the front line as an officer of a POUM *centuria,* or battalion, complete with cartridge belt and an old model 1889 Mauser. On 20 May 1937, a Francoist bullet struck him in the throat.

Nursed back to health—he nevertheless had some difficulty in speaking for the rest of his life—he returned to England. He had thrown himself wholeheartedly into this war which for him was a war of humanist socialism against totalitarianism. This Spanish experience seems to have finally convinced George Orwell the writer of the "singleness of the adversary": totalitarianism whether of Party or of State. He was to publish an account of his Spanish experience in *Homage to Catalonia* in which the theme of "revolution above all" seemed to predominate; the impending conflict with nazi Germany confirmed him in the idea that a war between capitalism and fascism would be a case of "six of one and half a

a sense of patriotism, somewhat resigned, perhaps, but unshakeable. Whatever her faults old England had to be defended against Hitlerism and, without abandoning his revolutionary theories, he decided to work as effectively as he could for the war effort.

His ill health—he was suffering from tuberculosis—prevented him from serving in the army. He worked for the BBC on broadcasts to India, joined the Home Guard and wrote *The Lion and the Unicorn,* a book in which he praised patriotism and criticized those intellectuals (one of whom he had been himself) who declared their disdain for national values, while insisting that the war must be a people's war accompanied by a radical change in society based on a liberal, collectivist socialism which, nevertheless, must not be dominated by the State. It must be an English socialism which would suppress neither the monarchy nor traditional culture and customs and would respect the nation's past.

He contributed to Left wing magazines such as *Tribune* and *Horizon* and, in November 1943, he began work on *Animal Farm,* which he was to finish at the end of the following February.

This work brought Orwell the international fame that *Nineteen*

Eighty-Four would confirm. The subject matter is well known. Revolt is brewing amongst the animals at Mr. Jones's *Manor Farm*. But once freed from their human masters, the animals find themselves in the same condition of servitude as before the revolt, some of their own kind having replaced their former masters. The slogan that inspired their revolt, "All animals are equal", has become "All animals are equal, but some are more equal than others". Written at the height of the war, the book was refused by several publishers. When it finally appeared in August 1945, it met with immediate success.

Already, while he was completing *Animal Farm* Orwell had in mind another book which he was to finish in 1948 whilst seriously ill and which was to be published in June of the following year, some seven months before his death on 21 January 1950.

The year is 1984. (Let it be said in passing that this date has no particular significance, being merely the date of the year in which the book was completed with the last two figures transposed). The world is divided between three superpowers—Oceania, Eurasia and Eastasia. The action takes place in England which has become an integral part of Oceania. The country, completely State-controlled, is dominated by the figure of a single man, Big Brother, supported by the Inner Party which in turn is backed up by the Outer Party

tellectual manipulation of people through Newspeak, a language specially designed to eliminate all contestation, indeed all nuances of thought, while imposing the official "truth", however subject to change this may be, in a manner that defies logical or factual contradiction. "The earth is the centre of the universe. The sun and the stars go round it", O'Brien tells Winston; and, holding up the fingers of his left hand with the thumb concealed, "There are five fingers there. Do you see five fingers?"

Orwell examines the question of why and how a regime such as that of Oceania can exist and last. It is because the men who control it are interested only in power, power for its own sake, devoid of any other purpose such as comfort, happiness, liberty, rationality or ideology. This is a form of oligarchic totalitarianism which is based on a sort of institutionalized schizophrenia, the single State for which the exterior, objective world does not exist.

Certain of the themes of *Animal Farm* are echoed in *Nineteen Eighty-Four,* but it is not a political novel. It is not a forecast of the way in which a particular regime may develop; it is, as Orwell wrote to his publisher, a parody of the "intellectual consequences of totalitarianism", and, to some extent, this parodying aspect of the book attenuates its pessimism. In the same way as we speak of "black humour" we might describe it as "black burlesque". There

After the publication, in 1948, of his book *Nineteen Eighty-Four,* George Orwell wanted to make his position clear: "I do not believe that the kind of society I describe necessarily *will* arrive, but I believe (allowing of course for the fact that the book is a satire) that something resembling it *could* arrive. I believe also that totalitarian ideas have taken root in the minds of intellectuals everywhere, and I have tried to draw these ideas out to their logical consequences. The scene of the book is laid in Britain in order to emphasize that the English-speaking races are not innately better than anyone else and that totalitarianism, *if not fought against,* could triumph anywhere." Left, view of London.

Photo Malcolm Pendrill © Parimage, Paris

machine. The hero, Winston Smith, is an employee at the Ministry of Truth, an organization whose task it is to spread the official "truth" of the day and to correct or to eradicate from the records of past events, declarations, decisions and persons in contradiction with the present policies of the State. Winston gets to know Julia, a young woman who works for the Anti-Sex League. One day, by means of various subterfuges, the young couple succeed in starting an illicit liaison. Meanwhile Winston comes into contact with a mysterious person in a position of considerable authority, O'Brien, who reveals himself to Winston as being an opponent of the regime and a supporter of Goldstein, the enemy number one and scapegoat of the leaders of Oceania. Winston confides in O'Brien, but the latter turns out to be an important member of the Inner Party, and head of the Thought Police. Arrested and tortured both physically and mentally, Winston ceases to oppose the Party, becoming entirely subject to its will, betrays Julia who in turn betrays him, and is finally despatched to a minor post in an obscure section of the Ministry of Truth.

The story line of 1984 is relatively weak. From the relationship between Winston and O'Brien, however, there emerges a profound study of every aspect of totalitarianism, not least of which is the in-

is nothing to laugh at about the picture of the world presented to us in *Nineteen Eighty-Four,* but the prevailing feeling we have when reading it is not one of terror. One can even see in it glimpses of optimism.

"If there is hope, wrote Winston, it lies in the proles (proletariat) (...) The future belonged to the proles. And could he be sure that when their time came the world they constructed would not be just as alien to him, Winston Smith, as the world of the Party? Yes, because at least it would be a world of sanity. Where there is equality there can be sanity. Sooner or later it would happen, strength would change into consciousness. The proles were immortal (...)."

From this moment on, the lower upper middle-class socialist with such fond respect for the old English ways, looked to the proletariat as the liberating force, not without reservations, but with a messianic intensity and a poetic power difficult to define and with all the imprecise passion of the humanitarian, progressive outpourings of the nineteenth century; thus, in evoking a possible future he becomes a utopian voice from the past. After all, we are only in 1984.

■ **Jacques Charpier**

From analysis to action

New trends in the psychological sciences

by Agnès Oppenheimer

PSYCHOLOGY, which at one time was a branch of philosophy, has always attempted to assert its independence by establishing a particular goal and a specific method of approach. Its vocation has been to study the psyche of the individual, along with his cognitive, emotional and behavioural processes, based on the concept of man as an individual represented by a biological, medical, physical or metaphysical model.

Shortly before the turn of the century, Freud's discovery of unconscious processes could have caused irreparable damage to psychology, the scope of which was limited to the sphere of consciousness. On the contrary, this revised view of man gave psychology a foundation and a new point of departure. Similarly, developments in the social sciences were to define this discipline in terms of then recent advances in sociology, linguistics, economics and other areas.

To this day, no clear preference has been expressed either for including psychoanalysis as a part of general psychology or for accepting that since psychoanalysis is centred on unconscious manifestations, it breaks away from the point of view of classical psychology and exists as an independent science. In the United States psychoanalysis claims to be the basis as well as an integral part of a broader field of psychology, which itself is concerned with pathology and health. In France, it is most often looked upon as a distinct field, not derived from any other.

Photo ©1983 ADAGP, Paris

"Psychology, which at one time was a branch of philosophy, has always attempted to assert its independence by establishing a particular goal and a specific method of approach. Its vocation has been to study the psyche of the individual along with his cognitive, emotional and behavioural processes." Above, *Exchange of Thoughts*, oil on canvas by the French artist Jean Dubuffet.

Psychology has itself split into several fields of specialization: social psychology, psychometry, clinical psychology (personality tests), developmental psychology and psychoanalytical psychology.

Psychoanalytical theories remain a major point of reference in testing, pathology and laboratory research, whether efforts are made to apply them to other fields or to refute them.

It is inappropriate to distinguish psychological and psychoanalytical approaches by referring to health and pathology, as the borderline separating the two is difficult to ascertain and should be drawn with care. Some therapies are based solely upon psychoanalysis, while others are purely psychological; all refer to different theories that must be taken into account.

Historical perspective is an essential feature herein, to the extent that it recreates certain aspects of individual development and forms an integral part of all psychological parameters.

The definition of the unconscious is inseparable from the manner in which it was discovered. Freud sought to cure symptoms of hysteria using hypnosis. During patients' trance states, he realized that their recalling certain traumatic memories caused the symptoms to disappear. He also noticed that "abreaction", or gaining awareness of a traumatic event to which emotion is attached, has a healing effect. Forgetting is the cause of neurosis, in other words, unconscious activity exists.

Little by little, Freud substituted free association for hypnosis. He found that the act of forgetting is motivated and that subjects tend to resist their memory. A fantasy, a psychological phenomenon, comes to replace the traumatic and pathogenic memory. Unconscious desire is seen in its different ramifications, hence the Oedipus and castration complexes orient human development.

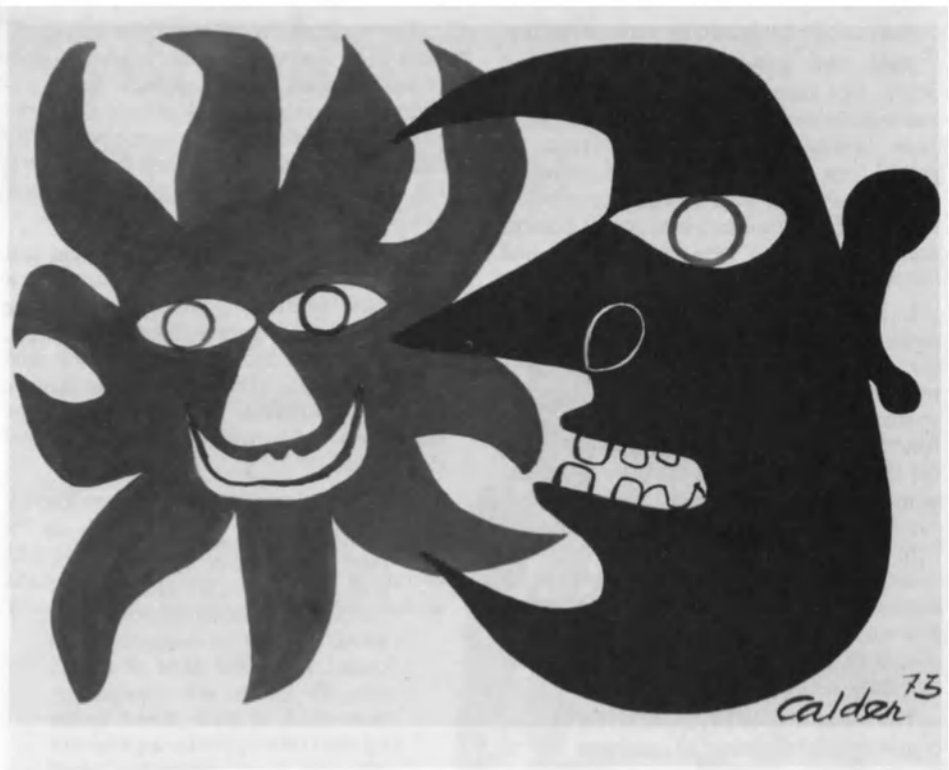
Psychoanalytical treatment is intended to recognize intrapsychical conflicts stemming from the subject's unconscious. The method consists of reserving judgment concerning the reality of the events mentioned. The external factor is not denied, but its impact is measured in terms of the resonance it finds in the individual. The individual

AGNES OPPENHEIMER, *French psychoanalyst, is a lecturer at the University of Paris VII. A member of the Psychoanalytical Society of Paris, she is the author of* Le Choix du Sexe *(1980) as well as many articles and studies on psychology and psychoanalysis.*

recreates his conflicts during treatment and the interpretation of this reaction through transference enables the patient to become conscious of his psychical determinism. The analyst's attitude, therefore, must be neutral when comprehending and judging phenomena. His silence should be broken only for as "objective" an interpretation as possible, since the analyst is no more than a receiver, a mirror reflecting back the unconscious meanings of the patient's conscious speech. As treatment progresses, the task becomes more complex, and the analyst must take into account the different psychical processes he discovers.

Psychoanalysis does not deal with symptoms, but with the unconscious of a given subject as a whole whose psychical apparatus is composed of forces in conflict. Psychoanalytical theory implies a particular technique and attitude which stem from a precise scientific model, that of the sciences of nature and empiricism. The exercise consists of discovering a cause, a truth, basic desires, and of decoding an original unconscious message that is expressed in a distorted state, censored by the conscious awareness. Admittedly, however, psychological experiments that have attempted to confirm these theories have met with failure.

Over the past twenty years, interventionism has returned to psychoanalysis and is now a directing force in all therapies. This ▶



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"The individual is no longer considered as a decomposable structure, and thus the understanding of the psyche becomes secondary and seemingly inefficacious. The individual exists only in terms of the function he performs in communicating with others, for everything is communication." Above, *Deux Têtes* (Two Heads), 1973, gouache by the US artist Alexander Calder.

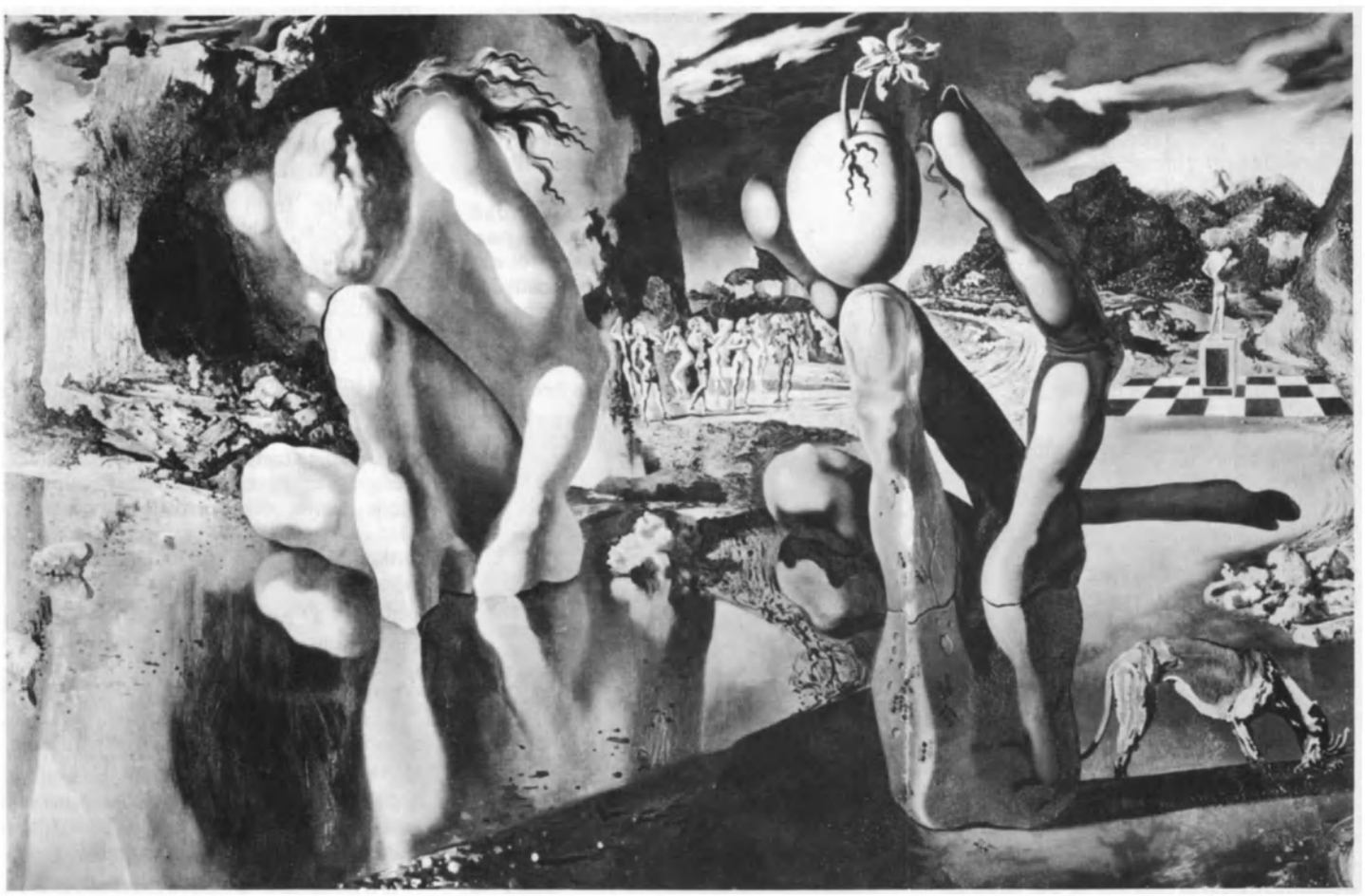


Photo ©1983 SPADEM, Paris. Tate Gallery, London

"The expansion of psychoanalysis and increased understanding of neuroses led to the development of different, complementary models that offer an insight into other aspects of pathology, including narcissism and identity." Above, *Metamorphosis of Narcissus*, 1937, by the Spanish artist Salvador Dalí during his surrealist period, clearly draws its inspiration from psychoanalysis. Freudian theory had a profound influence on surrealism (dream interpretation, free association, automatism).

▶ change can be explained by various factors.

First, the activity of psychoanalysis, which was limited to the comprehension and treatment of neuroses, branched out to cover other, more serious types of pathologies. It then became necessary to revise theoretical concepts and create new technical features. For a new goal it became necessary to have new explanations and methods, and above all, a new outlook.

It appeared necessary to take into account those early events that conditioned the environment and gave rise to specific problems. An individual cannot become neurotic unless the first years of his life were free from serious traumas, thus allowing for the development of a stable psychical organization. In other cases, it is impossible for the individual to comprehend himself with respect to internal conflicts which could not have taken shape. In the latter instance, the structure is too deficient. Moreover, social changes influence the course of mental pathology, both in form and definition.

The expansion of psychoanalysis and increased understanding of neuroses led to the development of different, complementary models that offer an insight into other aspects of pathology, including narcissism and identity. A more complex clinical approach and a modified therapeutic viewpoint are associated with increased theoretical knowledge.

Admitting the importance of reality in psychical processes leads to taking into account interpersonal relationships during both infancy and treatment. Observation of babies supports this discovery.

Parallel to this, there is an epistemological change. It becomes clear that the observer influences the observation and neutrality is a myth. Thus silence is a form of intervention and the analyst ceases to be a neutral receiver, since his personality is just as important as his capacity to empathize with his patient. The moment unconscious reality reaches the surface, it can no longer be considered as data, but rather as a simple version of facts or a point of view.

From a psychological standpoint, different models either complement or negate each other. Aside from basic treatment, analysis has extended its activities to borderline and narcissistic cases. In addition, psychoanalytical-type therapies are currently used to treat psychotic subjects.

Research into rapid techniques continues. Psychoanalytical psychodramas allow the individual to act out and externalize his conflicts. Psychoanalytical relaxation takes the body into consideration and is appropriate for subjects who experience difficulty in verbalizing their emotions.

Psychoanalytical perspective aside, various therapies are appearing, some of which focus on abreaction. One example is the primal scream, the cry of the newborn infant, which induces regression into past experience, enabling patients to integrate this experience. Whether used individually or in groups, the "new therapies" are based on the concept of living one's emotional experiences, coming into contact with one's body.

The multiplicity of therapies answers a need for change, rapidity, and often economy. They are based on a certain rejection of psychoanalysis as well as on the idea that the unconscious cannot be directly taken into account; thus, mere understanding is no longer adequate, and the important factor is to live.

The coexistence of psychoanalytical and psychological therapies is accompanied by a reciprocal influence, unless deeper-lying changes create a certain diversity. Reality, pathology and clinical medicine are now plural concepts. Treatment is no longer considered a theatre of pure re-enactment but offers the possibility of living a new experience.

Over twenty years ago, a new theory came into being, accompanied by a therapeutic method which alone could well become a branch of psychology. Founded on mathematical discoveries and the theory of systems, it focuses on communication, the relationships and laws governing the functioning of families as systems.

The individual is no longer considered as a decomposable structure, and thus the understanding of the psyche becomes secondary and seemingly inefficacious. The individual exists only in terms of the function he performs in communicating with others, for everything is communication.

"Sickness" does not exist *per se*. It is the effect of pathological communication whose most extreme manifestation is what has been termed the "double constraint", a contradictory order one subject gives another, placing the latter in a position whereby his choice is impeded. Based on that premise, there is no such thing as a disturbed individual; only the system is ailing, seeking balance through the most pathological means open to it. The answer is thus to treat a system. This technique may be applied to an individual, but he must always be regarded as part of a system.

The notion of intrapsychical conflict is absent from this approach, which is centred on interaction and interpersonal relations. It is useless to understand, because understanding does not elicit change, and it is precisely change that is important. This method is active, entailing suggestion and order. It highlights the pathological aspect of communication that must be modified, and it is based on psychology without psychism.

Recent developments in psychology have led to a division into psychologies or psychological disciplines. This is due as much to epistemological changes as it is to economic and social changes and ideological influences.

Looking from within the different psychologies, it is the interaction between theory and clinical practice that induces methodological changes, the goal of every therapy being to effect change. There are differences in the methods employed both to cause change and to enable change to occur. Interventionism still applies, even when it takes the form of non-intervention. However, the active techniques that promote change (catharsis, systemic therapies, etc.) differ from psychoanalytical technique, which seeks to make change possible, to free the subject from his bonds without conditioning him in any way whatsoever.

From a psychoanalytical standpoint, distinctions are drawn in terms of a given pathology, making it possible to obtain indications for treatment, but they are also drawn with respect to the different theoretical models that give rise to different types of intervention.

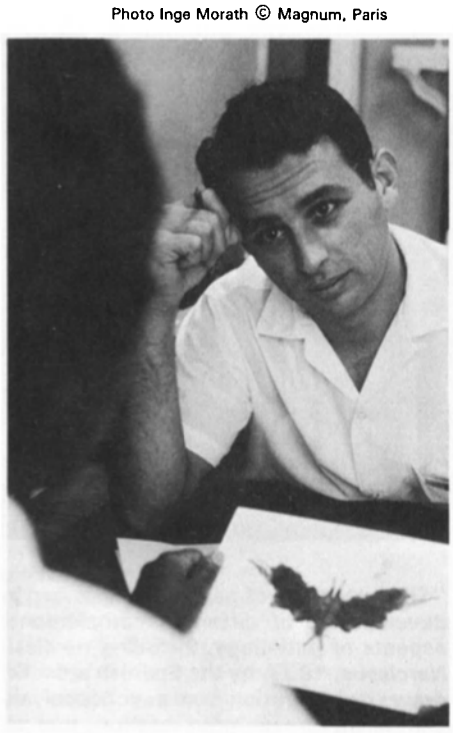
Some models focus on conflict, others on certain aspects of pathology, others still on the development of the personality.

It is possible to discern a trend towards an integration of the various theories, each of which represents one aspect of the human being. All of them are distorted representations of phenomena they refract, and which otherwise would never have come into conscious existence.

■ **Agnès Oppenheimer**

Developed in 1921 by the Swiss psychiatrist Hermann Rorschach, the Rorschach Test is a projective method of psychological testing in which the testee is asked to describe what he sees in a series of ten symmetrical ink-blots. From the replies received the tester attempts to establish a broad picture of the testee's personality type—whether, for example, he or she is basically introvert or extrovert. Below, a test in progress.

Photo Inge Morath © Magnum, Paris



Psychology in Black Africa

by Amewusika Kwadzo Tay

ANY attempt to define the current situation of psychology in Black Africa depends on what is meant by psychology—modern (or Western) psychology, or traditional African psychology.

While the former enjoys full scientific and administrative recognition in many Black African countries, the latter still has to assert its existence as a body of knowledge and practice which can be tested by the scientific method of hypothesis, experimental verification and proof. The mistrust and sometimes mutual rejection which prevail between these two kinds of psychology seriously limit the possibilities of a form of official collaboration between them which could lead to a veritable synthesis.

Modern psychology in Black Africa can be evaluated in two ways. It can be considered as a science with universal validity, in which case its level in Black Africa is the same as that which is found throughout the world. On the other hand, if it is held that modern psychology can only be truly scientific in a specific historical and cultural context, its evaluation entails an assessment of the evolution it has undergone in its new setting by being either receptive or closed to methodological changes and to models previously elaborated and tested elsewhere.

We take it that modern psychology includes the major currents of Western psychology which lay claim to be scientific by virtue of their biological, physiological and/or psychic foundations. It thus corresponds to the ancient physic of the mind as opposed to the philosophy of the soul, and englobes psychiatry, psychological testing, experimental psychology, which is often associated with educational psychology, social psychology, psychotherapy and psychoanalysis. Of these major branches, with their many ramifications and theoretical trends, only educational psychology and psychiatry have been trying, in the last four decades, to take root in Africa. Since 1960, the year when many countries achieved political independence, modern ▶

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"Modern psychology in Black Africa can be evaluated in two ways. It can be considered as a science with universal validity, in which case its level in Black Africa is that which is found throughout the world. On the other hand, if it is held that modern psychology can only be truly scientific in a specific historical and cultural context, its evaluation entails an assessment of the evolution it has undergone in its new setting by being either receptive or closed to conceptual and methodological changes and to models previously elaborated and tested elsewhere." Right, Chieftain's chair from the Lunda region of Angola.

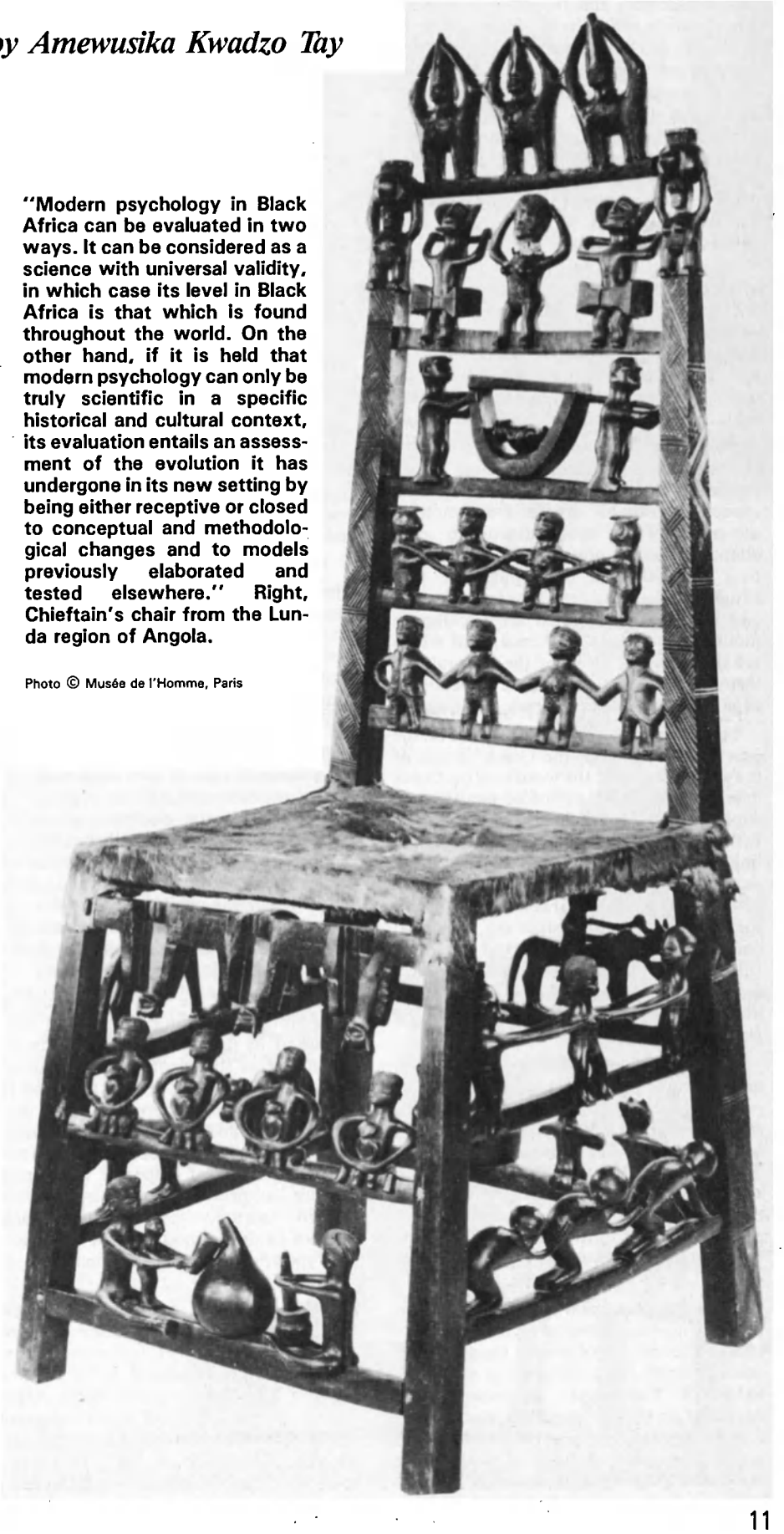


Photo © Musée de l'Homme, Paris

▶ psychology has been taught virtually everywhere in Africa, generally in faculties of human sciences.

Psychiatry, however, is usually considered as a medical discipline and is often taught in faculties of medicine. This difference in status, due to the fact that it is taken seriously by the authorities, is certainly one of the reasons why its development has been more remarkable than that of other branches. The Universities of Dakar (Senegal) and Ibadan (Nigeria) are among those which have a world-wide influence in this field. Journals, books, international meetings and a range of documentary information promote the exchange of ideas and experience between specialists and institutions in Africa and those in other continents. According to the University of Dakar periodical *Psychopathologie Africaine,* 448 articles were devoted to psychiatry in Black Africa between 1965 and 1979, 200 of them appearing in this same journal. During the same period 274 works, the proceedings of 70 meetings, and 68 miscellaneous documents were also published. Although few Africans are involved in these exchanges of information, their participation is remarkable in view of the fact that modern psychology is a recent import to Africa; it did not reach Black Africa until 1940.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that in psychiatry alone, the human and material capacities available are far from meeting the needs of the sub-continent: in some countries there is only one psychiatrist for over 500,000 head of population. This situation is aggravated by certain trends and characteristics which are peculiar to modern psychology in Africa, and which are themselves a result of the cultural and historical context in which psychology began to take shape in Greek Antiquity.

The term *psychology,* or discourse on the psyche, derives from the Greek notion of the soul. In Homer, the word *soul* (in Greek *anemos,* breath) had a twofold significance, englobing on the one hand *thumos,* mind, will, passion, that which characterizes the individual personality; and on the other *psyche,* life, the animal inspiration which gives life to all bodies. From the fifth century BC until the Christian era, this dual conception of man was worked out more fully and rationalized within philosophical and religious doctrines which underlay the idea of immortality and the divinity of the psyche.

These doctrines included reincarnation and the imperative of autoperfection of the psyche. The individual person was responsible for achieving this perfection and consequently for his fate in life and after death. The precept "know thyself", which was inscribed on the temple at Delphi, is a good expression of the Greek belief that the happiness of the individual is based on knowledge of his psyche and of his duty to it.

These Greek ideas on the psyche persisted until the nineteenth century when they were exposed to the test of reason supported by science, which had triumphed in almost all fields of knowledge. Psychology was criticized on the grounds that it was based on scholastic reasoning which did not stand up to scientific experimentation. Thus it was classified as a magical practice because of the bad reputation it had acquired during history.

In the Western perspective, that of the Greek and Judaeo-Christian psyche, the "madman" is someone inhabited by a defective soul, which is dangerous because it can corrupt other souls. Deprived of a healthy spirit, he ceases to be a person and thus loses the right to speech. Disconnected from his culture, he has nothing to communicate. He is dead but responsible for his state. He must be destroyed, often by fire, an element as subtle as the soul. For centuries mental alienation and disagreement with the established order were confused in the name of religious and political intolerance, and heretics, outlaws, and madmen were transported to distant islands or interned in asylums in the remote countryside.

In the nineteenth century Western psychology reacted against this bad image and the criticisms of science by diversifying itself in a search for scientific foundations. But in spite of the progress it has made in this direction, psychology is still considered as a science of secondary importance, except in the Soviet Union and the United States. When modern psychology took root in Black Africa there was a strong concern that its scientific status should be preserved. Hence the ambiguities of its attitudes to African psychology: rejection of it at the theoretical level, coexistence with it in certain universities, and in some cases collaboration with it in the practical sphere.

While anyone practically concerned with the question cannot fail to realize that an authentic African psychology really exists, in the current state of research and publications (numerous though they are) it is impossible to define it in simple, general and universally acceptable terms. In any case such is not my intention in this article.

The question of the nature of African psychology is part of the vaster problem of the rehabilitation of African negro culture. For example, the existence of African psychology as a scientific theory is closely connected to that of African philosophy, which is the source of continuing debate among African philosophers. Nor is it possible, within the limits of this article, to give a general assessment of the state of African psychology in all its aspects.

Accordingly, we have restricted our reflections to African psychiatry which, by virtue of its presence and role in the continent seems sufficiently representative of African psychology. If it is accepted that there is a connexion between mental health or alienation and the individual personality, and that psychiatry cannot be effective unless it is part of a specific geographical setting, a specific human history, and a specific culture, then African psychiatry cannot be understood without reference to a specifically African culture and personality.

The work of anthropologists, Africanists, and men of culture both from Africa and from other continents supports the idea of the cultural unity of Black Africa. The basic features of the African personality exist within this fundamental unity, which is often masked by physical or linguistic diversity or by differences in customs. Since the publication of *La*

This hand-bell (42.5 cm), carved from an elephant tusk and known as a *lonflin,* is one of the instruments used by priests of *Fa,* a traditional divinatory technique in countries of the Gulf of Guinea.

Photo © Musée de l'Homme, Paris

In traditional African societies, the soothsayer has a status similar to that of the physician—both are consulted at critical moments in the lives of individuals or of social groups. In his own way the soothsayer fulfils a broad therapeutic function. *Fa* (a word in the language of the Fon people; *Ifa* in Yoruba) is a traditional divinatory technique of the countries of the Gulf of Guinea. In Dahomey (present-day Benin) the *Bokonon* or *Fa* priest (right) was consulted before any important decision was taken. In our photo, taken in 1930, the *Bokonon* is holding ritual palm-nuts in his left hand, whilst in front of him are spread other divinatory accessories including a *fatè*, a tray symbolizing space, on which a powder is sprinkled and in which the soothsayer/priest draws *Fa* signs with his finger-tips.

Photo © Musée de l'Homme, Paris

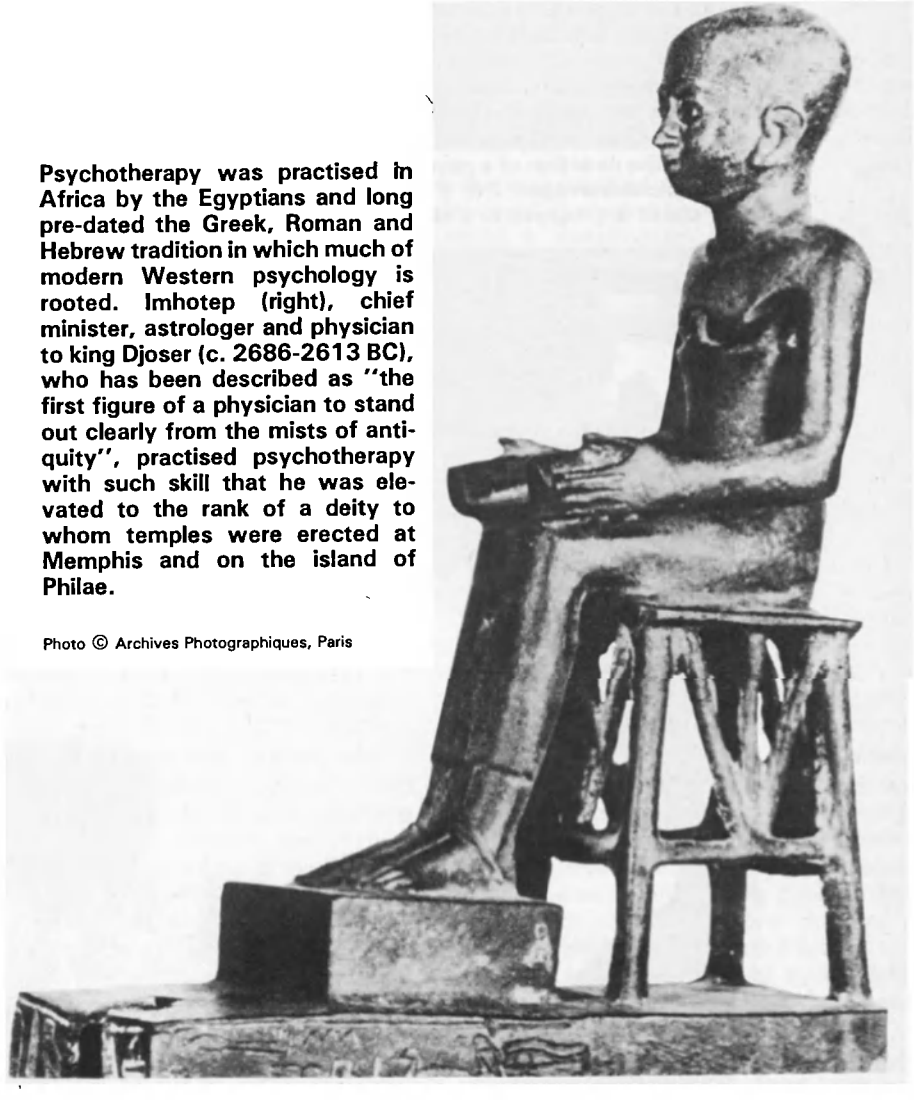
Philosophie Bantoue by Placide Tempels in 1945, the concept of the African personality as developed by African philosophers appears (according to Ibrahima Sow) to consist of four elements: the body (the corporal envelope); the biological principle (internal organs, automatic and psychosomatic systems); the life principle; and the spirit as such, the substance of immortality.

This conception of the personality is situated in a dynamic psychological field which is defined by three main axes of relationships; the personality is at the meeting point of these axes. There is a vertical axis which brings the individual into relation with his founding Ancestor, with God and with the other invisible Existents; a horizontal axis, or axis of social order, which brings him into relation with the cultural community; and the existential axis, the axis of the person or the axis of biolineal existence. (Dr. Ibrahima Sow, *Psychiatrie Dynamique Africaine).* The balance of the personality and thus of its mental health depend on the balance of this psychological universe. The coherence of the whole is maintained, at each level, by origin-myths, creation-myths, or founder-myths, as well as by reason, which indicate the conditions of individual and collective human experience.

This conception of the personality defines the individual neither as a Leibnitzian monad (unity) nor, as certain anthropologists would have it, as a tribal sub- ▶

Psychotherapy was practised in Africa by the Egyptians and long pre-dated the Greek, Roman and Hebrew tradition in which much of modern Western psychology is rooted. Imhotep (right), chief minister, astrologer and physician to king Djoser (c. 2686-2613 BC), who has been described as "the first figure of a physician to stand out clearly from the mists of antiquity", practised psychotherapy with such skill that he was elevated to the rank of a deity to whom temples were erected at Memphis and on the island of Philae.

Photo © Archives Photographiques, Paris



▶ject without liberty. Each personality is unique, while also remaining an expression of the totality of the main cultural determinants. This means that there is the possibility for a psychology of individual differences in the modern sense, just as there is everywhere else.

Ibrahima Sow has also written that "the cause and effect of mental disturbance meet in that which either affects the vertical dimension of the Being, its relationship with the Ancestor or with God, and thus shatters the person's fundamental identity, or in that which affects the horizontal dimension of existential experience and provokes misfortune. (...) The disturbance can never simply be an isolated and restricted inner debate, because the African conception of relationship is a total and dynamic one". According to specialists, the ideas of personal sin and guilt are virtually non-existent in African madness. The persecution-depression theme, on the other hand, is more common, conforming as it does to the anthropological structure described above. The pathogenic agent, which is always outside the sick person, is either a wicked person, or an invisible force, or the founding Ancestor.

Among the various methods used to seek the deep-lying causes of the sickness are intuitive or deductive divination such as *Fa*, which is extensively practised in the countries on the Gulf of Guinea. An investigation is carried out into the sick person and all the suspect networks of relationships. The treatment prescribed by the geomancer, who in addition to his other qualities possesses that of a subtle psychologist, takes many forms, incorporating the use of plant drugs, trance, possession, prayer, incantation, sacrifice, ritual and propitiatory offerings, and a temporary change of community (although the patient is never separated from people he knows). Constantly cared for by his family and his community, the "madman" does not need to be exiled unless his condition is so serious that it constitutes a real physical danger for those around him. Only if it is can he be temporarily deprived of freedom of movement.

Thus although African psychiatry has not yet been expressed in a body of theory, it cannot be identified, as those who believe in an extreme form of scientism would maintain, with magic, savagery or ignorance, and consequently condemned to disappear or become a "folklore" psychology. In the urban environment where mental disturbance develops, the families of the sick seek the concomitant aid of both modern and traditional psychiatry, and the latter often turns out to be more effective than tranquillizers which do not always bring about a definitive cure. This is one reason why in some countries specialists and authorities are showing an increasing interest in collaboration between modern psychology and African psychology.

This approach seems particularly necessary today because there can be no doubt that, unlike the other sciences, even those branches of psychology which have won the most scientific recognition, such as psychiatry or social psychology, cannot be exported "tailor made". If it is to be effective for a given people it must be developed from within that people's culture. But it should also be stressed that the development of African psychology cannot take place in isolation. Collaboration will be necessary with all the human and social sciences, above all with philosophy.

It is in this sense that current debate about the conditions for the achievement of cultural identity and about African philosophy have a particular interest for all those who believe that the overall qualities and abilities of a people are in a sense a reflection of those of each of the persons comprising it.

■ **Amewusika Kwadzo Tay**

The Impact of Psychology on Third World Development **was the theme of an international conference organized by Unesco and the International Union of Psychological Sciences and held in Edinburgh, Scotland, from 24 to 28 July 1982. The conference was attended by specialists from a wide range of countries, including Venezuela where, in 1979, a Ministry for the Development of Intelligence was created. The Minister has described the development of intelligence as "absolutely necessary for the political, economic and social development of peoples". A national programme has been established consisting of 14 projects. One of these, Project Chess, which is under the direction of a psychologist, aims to develop a "chess-oriented" way of thinking among schoolchildren aged 7 to 9 and to study its possible transference to other areas. Below, a game of chess in progress in a street in Caracas.**

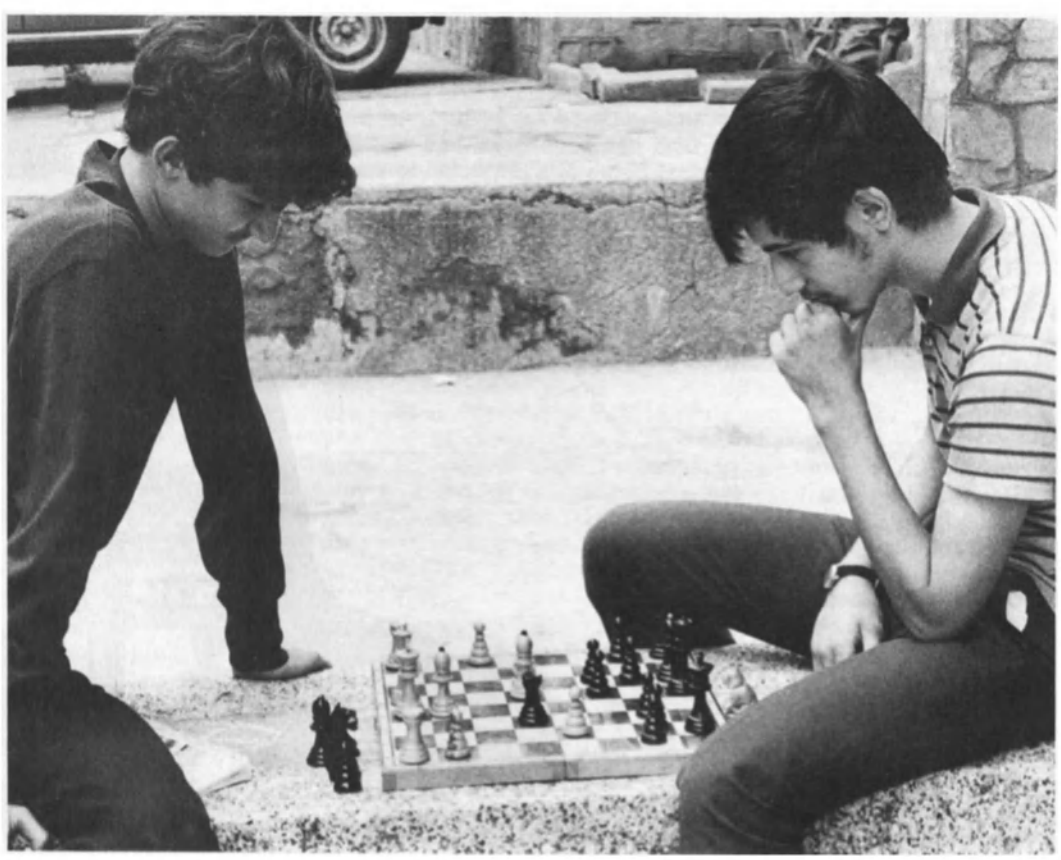


Photo © A. Muñoz de Pablos, Paris

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"The need for a fundamental change in the nature of the relations between the industrialized and the non-industrialized countries is becoming increasingly urgent. These relations are governed at present by an evolutionist, linear, diffusionist concept. Despite the obvious heterogeneity of our world, a 'massification' ideology that is as tenacious as it is false would have us believe that every country and culture should behave in the same way and pursue the same goals." Above, carved handle of a cane or sceptre belonging to the *Oni,* the spiritual leader of the Yoruba people of Nigeria.

Anatomy of inequality

The economic crisis seen from the Third World

by Jean Sayinzoga

JEAN SAYINZOGA, *of Rwanda, is an economist, a member of the editorial staff of the Geneva based magazine* Genève-Afrique *and an associate of the Refugee Section of the Protestant Social Centre of Geneva. A former consultant to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), he is the author of several articles and monographs on the developing countries.*

A decline in the growth rate of gross national product (GNP); high unemployment; high inflation, chronically adverse foreign trade balances and, in the case of the countries of the southern hemisphere, an external debt which is becoming dangerously heavy—such are the main indicators of the economic crisis which currently afflicts the market-economy countries.

It is a commonplace that economic crises and the decline which they bring lead to explosive social and political situations. In some countries today we see sudden changes of Government, reflecting a swing between two opposing political trends—a phenomenon which some observers have dubbed "the hen syndrome", thinking of the way a hen transfixed by the headlights of an oncoming car tries to escape by crossing the road first in one direction, then in the other.

In order to analyse this economic crisis which some describe as short-term but ▶

▶ which others regard as structural, let us examine these indicators more closely.

A comparison of GNP growth rates in the industrialized countries (not including the socialist countries of eastern Europe) with those in the non oil-producing non-industrialized countries reveals the following situation:

Industrialized countries:

- year	1982	1983	1984 (forecast)
- average growth rate	1.5 %	3 %	3.5 %

Non-industrialized, non oil-producing countries:

- year	1981	1982	1983
- average growth rate	2.5 %	1.5 %	2 to 2.5 %

In the latter category of countries, the rate of growth of GNP declined by 6 per cent between 1960 and 1970 and by 5 per cent between 1970 and 1980. Even assuming that an attempt to catch up is desirable, irrespective of the conditions in which it takes place, it is clear from the above figures that such an eventuality is not feasible at the present time.

While the unemployment rate in the non-industrialized countries is at a level which may without any exaggeration be described as catastrophic, it should not be forgotten that in the industrialized countries 5.5 per cent of the working population were unemployed in 1972, 5 per cent in 1979; 8 per cent in 1981, and 9 per cent around the end of 1982. Since this unemployment exists in societies where the individual is fully socialized, that is, responsibility is taken for him from birth to death by the capitalist economy so far as employment is concerned and by the State so far as services (education, health, etc.) are concerned, the gravity of the situation can be fully gauged.

Although inflation continues to be rampant in many countries of both North and South, some industrialized countries nevertheless seem to be bringing it under control. The inflation rate in these countries has been brought down from 7 per cent in 1982 to 5 per cent in 1983 and the same figure is forecast for 1984.

A direct result of this lower inflation rate could be a drop in interest rates and therefore an alleviation of the financial burden for countries which are saddled with the enormous external debt which they contracted with public and private bodies in the industrialized countries of the North.

While the average rate of inflation in the oil-producing countries was 13 per cent in 1980 and 1981 and 10 per cent in 1982, it reached the record figure of 30 per cent in 1982 for the third consecutive year in the non-industrialized, non oil-producing countries, mainly because of the rise in the price of fuel.

The cumulative foreign trade deficit of the non-industrialized non oil-exporting countries was 87 thousand million US dollars in 1982. The figure at present forecast for 1983 and 1984 is between 67 and 68 thousand million dollars.

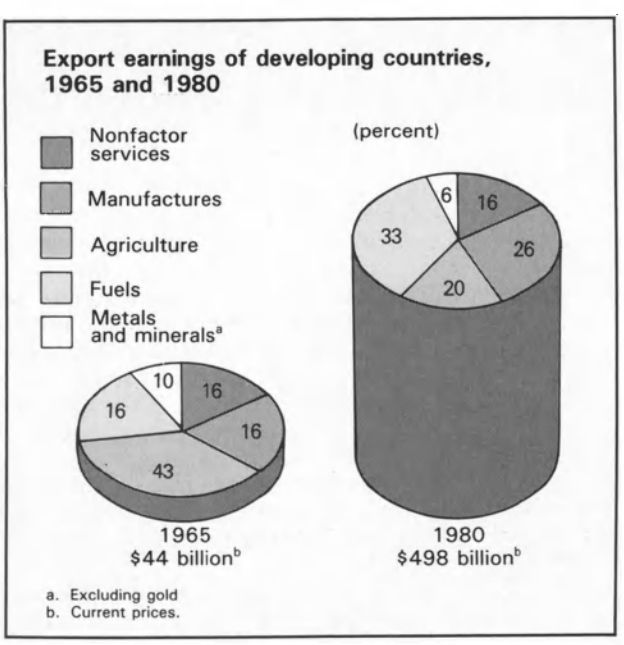
In this respect, the situation of the oil-producing countries is worse because it seems to be in constant decline. After a surplus of 114 thousand million dollars in 1980, which was completely wiped out in 1982, a cumulative deficit of 27 thousand million is forecast for the end of 1983. One of the reasons for this situation is a drop of 14 per cent in the price of oil in 1982 and of 6 per cent in the volume of sales.

The growth rate of the external debt, which was 10 per cent in 1982 (still higher than that of exports) is half as high as during the 1975-1981 period, but this is only a slight glimmer of hope.

The fact is that the cost alone of servicing this debt as a proportion of export

Photo Tomas Sennett/World Bank © IBRD, Washington, D.C.

Work in progress on a weir which forms part of a project for the improvement of the surface water irrigation system at Wadi Zabid, Yemen Arab Republic. The project, financed with the help of a 10.9 million dollar credit from the International Development Association (IDA), was completed in 1979 and covers some 17,000 hectares.



Source: World Bank

Developing countries can no longer be caricatured as exporters of primary products and importers of manufactures. Some have even become significant exporters of capital goods, accounting in all for about 6 per cent of the world total. These changes, however, should not obscure the fact that for many developing countries, particularly the poorest, primary products still dominate their exports or that many countries are dependent on a single export commodity.

Source: World Bank, Washington, D.C.

revenues was 15 per cent in 1976-1977, 20 per cent in 1981 and 24 per cent in 1982. In other words, the situation is getting worse.

The two camps, namely, the industrialized and the non-industrialized countries, may tax each other indefinitely with responsibility for the present situation without either side being entirely in the right or in the wrong.

The industrialized countries can criticize the countries of the South for not having shown sufficient perseverance and determination in their political and economic struggles. This shortcoming has made it easier for the North to dominate the South and has led to the present impasse. But since the days when many Third World countries achieved independence, the centres of responsibility have moved from London, Paris, Lisbon, etc. to Dakar, Kigali, Caracas, Bangkok, and so on.

For their part, the countries of the South can always point to the continuing deterioration in terms of trade, which is making them progressively poorer and the industrialized countries ever richer. Similarly, they can protest against the corrupt application of aid programmes which at present impoverish the receivers both materially and psychologically by developing an "assisted person" complex in them and making them bear the burden of heavy financial commitments.

From this three major conclusions emerge: the gap between the industrialized and the non-industrialized countries is growing bigger every year; all the remedies tried so far have failed; the need for a fundamental change in the nature of the relations between the industrialized and the non-industrialized countries is becoming increasingly urgent.

These relations are governed at present by an evolutionist, linear, diffusionist concept. Despite the obvious heterogeneity of our world, a "massification" ideology that is as tenacious as it is false would have us believe that every country and culture should behave in the same way and pursue the same goals, wherever on the earth's surface they may be situated. This is the basic idea of the theory of development, which presupposes the existence of a model society which supposedly possesses all the saving virtues and to the level of which the others must climb by the same ways and means which it employed and go through the same stages as those through which it passed. This model society is supposed to embody the future of all other societies. The vocabulary of this ideology reflects this pattern of events which is considered to be indispensable. Yesterday's "civilizing" mission becomes today's "aid" mission. Yesterday's "savage" becomes "undeveloped", and in the minds of those concerned the "colonized" complex is replaced by that of someone who is "aided".

It is well known that in international trade any product with a high technological content enjoys a definite advantage from the start, whereas the ▶

A new super highway rakes across the desert in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates. The construction of adequate networks of roads and highways is a key factor in the development process, but the burden of road maintenance weighs heavily on the developing countries (see box below).

Photo Georg Gerster © Rapho, Paris

The costs of poor road maintenance

The worldwide road-building boom of the 1960s and 1970s threatens to become the road-maintenance crisis of the 1980s and 1990s. Over the past ten years, roads in many developing countries have been allowed to deteriorate beyond the point where normal maintenance could be effective. Traffic loading has been much heavier than intended, and maintenance has been widely neglected. Funds budgeted for highways have been mostly absorbed in expanding rather than maintaining the network.

In a recent survey of twelve developing countries, more than 25 percent of the tarred road network in eight of them required rehabilitation, strengthening, or resealing.

To prevent further deterioration, maintenance budgets need to be increased by at least 25 percent in three-quarters of the countries for which recent studies are available; in more than half, the required increase exceeds 75 percent. But more money is not the only answer. Maintenance costs could be significantly reduced by improved efficiency. For example, use of plant and equipment is often extremely low, sometimes only a quarter or a third of the rates achieved by the best maintenance organizations.

When road authorities are not able to afford maintenance work, the costs passed on to road users are larger than the "savings" in public expenditure. Over the life of a road, the total operating costs of vehicles are typically four to ten times the costs of road construction and maintenance. Since operating costs may easily double on poorly maintained roads, the economic loss is considerable. Moreover, in most countries the extra costs chiefly involve spending foreign exchange on spare parts, fuel, and replacing vehicles.

Source: *World Development Report.*

Irrigation design and management

Public and private investments in irrigation in developing countries have increased dramatically over the past twenty years, reaching about $15 billion in 1980. But the returns are much below their potential: one recent estimate for South and Southeast Asia suggested that an additional 20 million tons of rice, enough to provide the minimum food requirements of 90 million people, could be produced every year with inexpensive improvements in water distribution.

A simple measure of the efficiency of an irrigation system is how much water is lost in distribution. Although losses of 25 percent are regarded as acceptable, they are often much higher due to management weaknesses in the operation of the system.

Losses can often be reduced by relatively cheap improvements in irrigation design. In Maharashtra, India, the public distribution system traditionally consisted of unlined canals serving forty-hectare blocks. Where these have been replaced by lined tertiary canals serving eight-hectare blocks, water available at the field has increased by 40 percent, and net returns on the investment by some 160 percent.

Source: *World Development Report 1983*

Photo T. Page © World Food Programme, Rome

The World Food Programme (WFP) is supporting "food-for-work" projects in Bangladesh employing up to two million workers. The aim of these projects is to reactivate some of the country's great waterways both to conserve water for irrigation and to drain away flood water during the monsoon season. The projects include construction of over 3,000 kilometres of embankments and the re-excavation of about 3,000 kilometres of canals. Workers are paid in wheat provided by the WFP. The work completed so far has already resulted in a large increase in rice production.

▶producer of raw materials loses both in the short and long term because in the present state of economic relations his commodities are undervalued and in many cases are non-renewable. In any case, even if raw material prices were stabilized, not to say increased, the non-industrialized countries which are rich in raw materials would continue to be poor unless the method of exploiting the latter is changed. It should not be forgotten that only from 15 to 35 per cent of the capital invested, for instance, by an international company remains in the host country. The remainder goes into imported plant, capital depreciation, interest payments, the salaries of expatriate staff, transport costs, insurance, etc. Ultimately, the raw material producing country does not gain very much.

It is clear that, for better or worse, the economies of both the non-industrialized and the industrialized countries are bound together, and that the growth of each should benefit the others. Let us take two examples.

It has been estimated that if, in order to make up for the 1973-1974 oil price increases, the non-industrialized, non oil-producing countries had reduced their imports of manufactured goods, there would have been 3 million more unemployed in the member countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

When asked to estimate the number of job losses in their country between 1970 and 1976 because of competition from Third World countries, heads of major French enterprises and senior officials advanced figures that varied between 200,000 and 500,000. They were a long way from the real figure which was in the region of 25,000. It occurred to nobody that, side by side with these lost jobs, 130,000 others were created through exports of capital goods and consumer goods. In fact, the growth of trade in industrial goods between France and the Third World from 1970 to 1976 led to a net increase of 105,000 jobs.

The world is going through a crisis to which every expert is trying to apply his own diagnosis and his own treatment. Each of the protagonists, the North and the South, is praying for a change that is slow in coming.

However, the critical situations of the past and of today can still be a source of profit. Paradoxical though it may seem, certain financial bodies may be increasing their assets thanks to the (temporary) insolvency of certain debtors, since renegotiation of the repayment schedules involves an addition of 2 per cent on the initial interest rate.

It is therefore becoming imperative to find alternative solutions to the present development strategy. There has, of course, been no shortage of catch phrases, such as "basic needs", "self-centred development", "collective autonomy". But it is the entire conception and orientation of the ideologies underlying the idea of development which must be thoroughly revised, both by the North and by the South. It is no longer permissible to rely on day-to-day realism, which is often no more than a lack of new ideas.

■ **Jean Sayinzoga**

In search of new economic structures

by François Perroux

THE loose combination and ill-determined succession of events and situations which we term *general crisis,* is, we feel, inexplicable in terms of traditional concepts.

In the 1960s the major Western economy and certain others were at grips with a certain fall in productivity and perturbed by a growing perception of the formidable nature of Japanese competition.

These circumstances, accompanied by other internal and external difficulties, heralded the decision of August 1971 which ended the gold convertibility of the dollar and aggravated the damage caused by floating exchange rates, amidst conditions which were highly inimical to this policy and dangerous for the medium-sized and small nations. The United States and the industrialized market-economy countries experienced persistent, high, and increasing unemployment, very high inflation, exorbitant international liquidity and a slowdown in the growth of their gross national product (GNP). Towards the end of the 1970s inflation began to slacken off; this had a moderating effect on prices but did not reduce unemployment or provoke an upturn in the growth of GNP.

After enjoying two decades of prosperity (1945-1968), combined growth and development, the industrialized market-economy countries went on to experience fifteen years (1968-1983) of slow and in some cases negative growth punctuated by hard shocks due to rises in the price of oil (1973 and 1979) and to cessation of debt repayments at the end of the 1970s.

The observable trends of the crisis we are experiencing today may be hypothetically envisaged in terms of the content and effects of the two *motors* of contemporary change: industry and finance, industrialization and financing.

Industry is a structure and has a structuring power. It is simply a combination of fixed assets and trading capital coupled with teams of human agents organized hierarchically. By virtue of its two facets as an apparatus of things and as an organization of persons, it is a continuing phenomenon. The sciences and technologies that it incorporates endow it with a relative superiority over the rest of the economy, above all over agriculture, which it can carry along in its wake and, to a certain extent, shape. It wields this influence through its capacity to bring down prices, to widen flows, and through the information it disseminates. The industrial apparatus is a motor of, and currently the major centre of, innovation. Industry is concentrated and consists largely of oligopolies and groups.

Finance is understood here as a mass of financial capital, of debts falling due at different periods, which are in the power of a small number of public or private decision-makers: banks, financial intermediaries, public centres of credit distribution. The normal functioning of the economy presupposes finance to launch the productive machine and keep it turning. Credit launches and maintains the vast industrial machine and its changing ▶

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Photo © 1983 ADAGP, Paris. Paul Klee Foundation, Museum of Fine Arts, Bern

"It is clear that true competition ceases to exist once a certain level of inequality between individuals or between structured human groups such as nations has been passed." Engraving by the Swiss artist Paul Klee (1879-1940) entitled *Two men meet, each presuming the other to be of higher rank.*

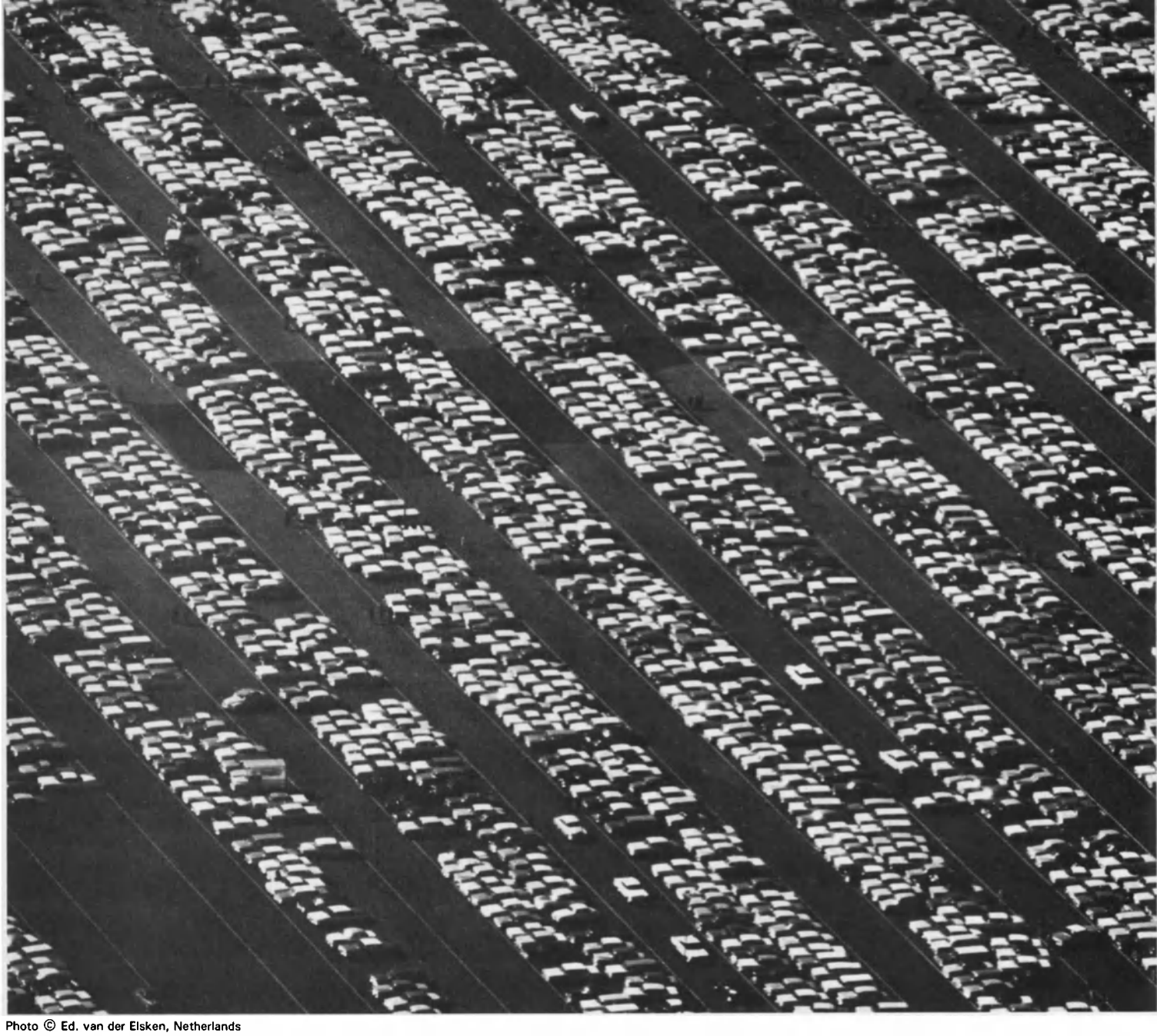

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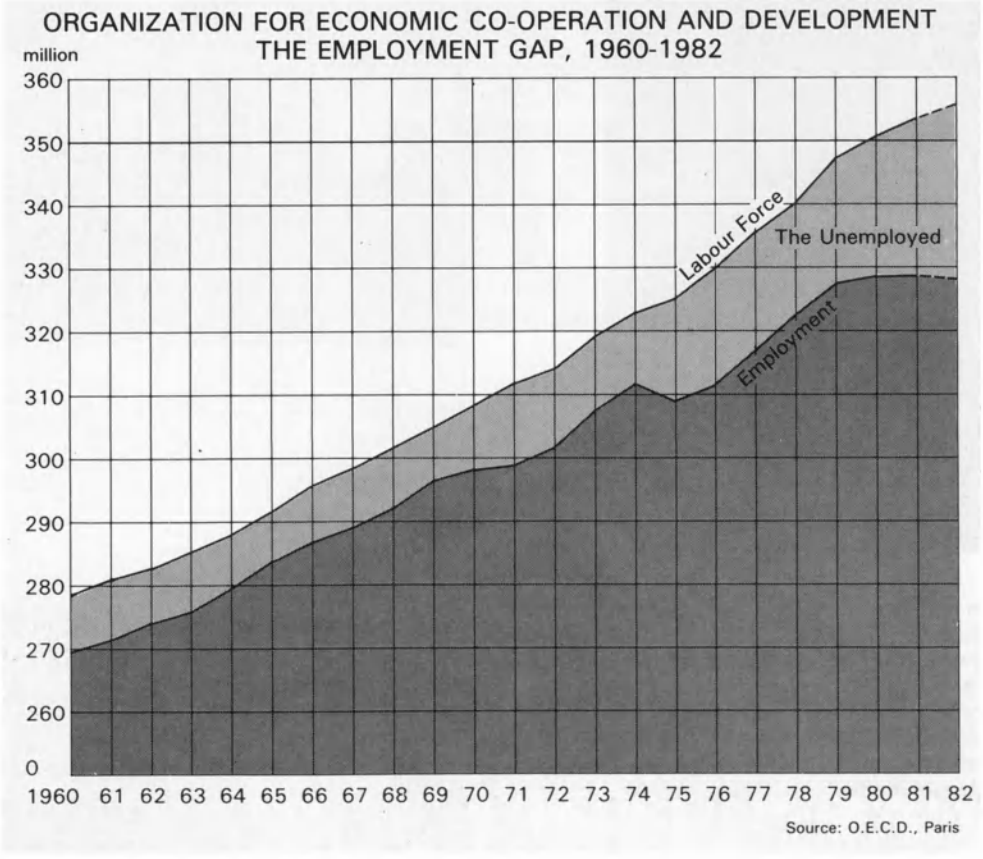
Photo Greg Fisher © Sygma, Paris

In November 1982, Scott Walther, aged 48, one of the 11 million unemployed in the United States, set out from Bay City, Michigan, with his handcart, on a five-month "walk for work" which was to take him over 3,000 kilometres to California.

"The observable trends of the crisis we are experiencing today may be hypothetically envisaged in terms of the content and effects of the two motors of contemporary change: industry and finance, industrialization and financing."

Photo Paolo Koch © Rapho, Paris



▶ structure, as new industries stimulate or replace the old. Finance, like production, is dominated by oligopolies.

Industry constitutes the major and persistent inequality between the developing countries, diverse though they are, and those countries which have long been developed. Here lies the problem; it is here that reform would be useful, if only the problem is properly perceived and the structuring power of industry is understood and turned to the benefit of the community.

The structures in the developing countries, though they may differ from one another in type and degree, have all been imposed or strongly influenced by those countries for which developed industry regularly produced machines and arms. Emotional though they often are, acts of rejection today have a solid economic basis which provokes these long-repressed revolts which help fuel the world crisis.

There can be no justifiable balance of supply and demand with a partner who is compelled to squander his human resources, who is ill equipped to deploy investment or innovation in a beneficial way, and who negotiates from a position of lasting dependence. The profound inequality of structures creates forms of domination which are just as unacceptable as the overt colonialism of yesterday.

Furthermore, the balance of supply ▶

▶and demand at world level is unattainable when a vast part of the world cannot formulate a sustained and growing demand nor obtain counterparts in international trade freely and normally. Insufficiency of effective demand, met by a nation's means of production, cannot be replaced over a long period and overall by aid or tied loans.

Finally, it is clear that true competition ceases to exist once a certain level of inequality between individuals or between structured human groups such as nations has been passed. In small countries there is good reason to wonder whether the highly intensive competition is between countries or between industries, some of which choose to be based in countries without making common cause with the rest of its economy and its population.

Flaws in the relationship between industry and agriculture, between branches of industry and branches of agriculture, are at the heart of the structural crisis of our time. By virtue of their technical, organizational, informational and financial superiority, industries dominate agriculture and in a sense take it over. In the industrialized countries the success of the agro-food industry suggests that this inequality is being corrected, although there is still room for improvement. But a trend reversal which will restore to the developing countries their capacity to produce food to satisfy domestic demand, by reducing the emphasis on export-directed agriculture or redirecting it, is a necessary task which is bound to take a long time. It calls for a restructuring which conflicts with the immediate interests of the established industries.

Perhaps the best economic basis for a major readjustment in the relations between industry and agriculture would be through regional groupings of nations rather than through individual nations. The experience of Latin America and West Africa has shown that short-sighted and ill-considered nationalism stands in the way of the general welfare.

The countries of Western Europe mark time as they try to hammer out a common policy in which the stumbling block is the relative importance of agriculture in certain countries, in contrast with the industries of their neighbours, which have deliberately sacrificed their agricultural activities. Major joint undertakings, coproductions and concerted exports bring substantial opportunities for overcoming inequalities in the relationship between agriculture and industry. These preliminary experiments ought to lead to a joint effort to establish agro-industrial areas where, through concerted action, powerful plurinational industrial groups would encourage agriculture (whether backward or making technical progress) to produce commodities for export to the less developed countries of the East and to African and Asian countries wanting food products that have been processed to a greater or lesser degree.

An enlightened strategy should dovetail with this trend. Such a strategy will be preferable to a grandiose programme of transfers and industrial sharing whereby labour-intensive industries would be allotted to the developing countries and capital-intensive industries based on extensive scientific and technical knowledge would remain in the industrially developed countries. In spite of the revolutionary trappings of such a

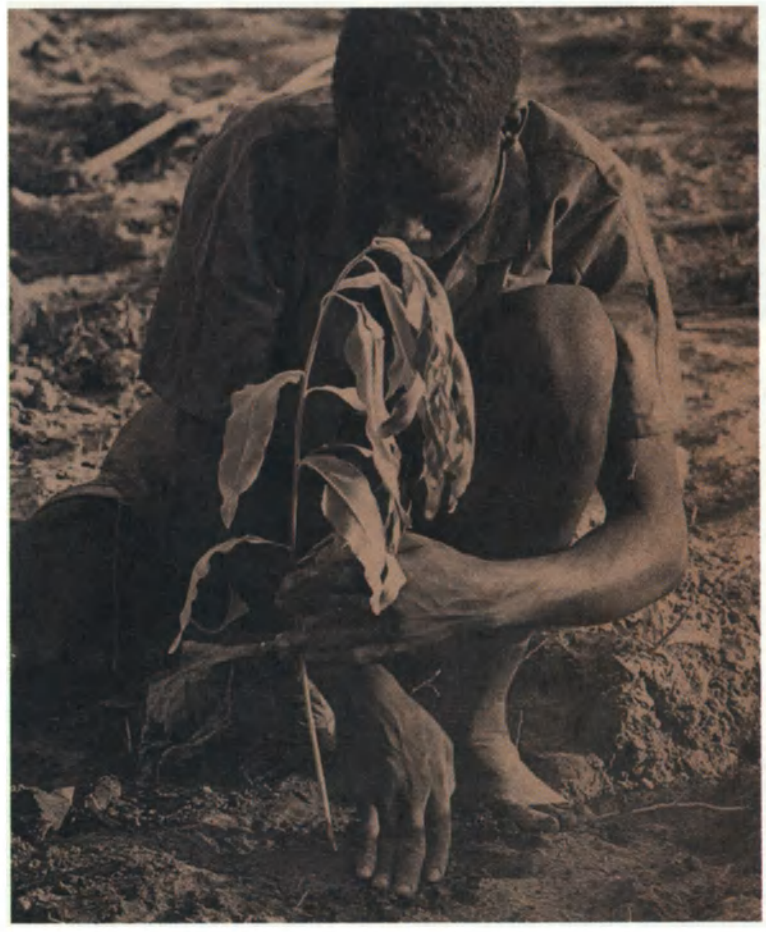


Photo © Werner Gartung, Merzhausen, Fed. Rep. of Germany

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"Flaws in the relationship between industry and agriculture (...) are at the heart of the structural crisis of our time. By virtue of their technical, organizational, informational and financial superiority, industries dominate agriculture and in a sense take it over. In the industrialized countries the success of the agro-food industry suggests that this inequality is being corrected, although there is still room for improvement." Right, grain elevators on the Canadian prairies. Above, a farmer tends his crop in Upper Volta.

programme, it seems to us to be dangerously conservative. It tends to create and maintain a kind of institutionalized preference which benefits the industrialized countries. High-technology and highly-capitalized industries are most likely in the long run to dominate labour-intensive industries. This is certainly not the intention of those who advocate such a system, but the inequality of vast groups, globally and doctrinally specialized, may aggravate or perpetuate domination by those who possess industries based on the latest technologies. In point of fact, the developing countries are striving to create, as far as their means permit, complex industries. For the development of their national economies, they are certainly right.

In addition to the advantages of internal development, this option, if followed successfully, provides an opportunity to become competitive with the industrially developed countries in selected fields through inventive specialization and by drawing benefit from their relatively low wage-levels.

Certain developing countries have received, as a result of outside investment and the activities of the multinationals, a structure which does not meet the fundamental needs and aspirations of their people. A long-term strategy would permit or encourage an autochthonous industrialization which would correct these deviations without recourse to protectionism or blinkered nationalism; it would restructure them in accordance with the wishes of those who are most closely concerned.

Other developing countries have been purely and simply colonized: their policy of independence can only be asserted by an industrialization strategy which provides them with a weight in international negotiations which neither their new juridical status nor the numbers of votes in international organizations could give them.

The current crisis springs from structural inequalities; efforts to overcome it call for new structures on a world scale. Efforts in this direction go beyond spontaneous market forces and the intercompatibility of markets, implying functional and regional organizations and the search for an overall organization which can articulate them with a view to economic efficiency and social quality.

Finance too is structured. Except for the specialized public institutions, financial organisms are oligopolies. In the United Kingdom there are the Big Five; in France, the Big Three (formerly the Big Seven). These monopolistic enterprises engage in sharp competition or form relatively stable agreements with each other and in relation to economic monopolies. Within a given nation and at world level, the money market evokes a meeting of giants and makes nonsense of the image of tiny units obediently following the "neutral" law of prices and interest.

With the exception of the oil-producing countries, financial power is in the hands of the industrialized countries. It is exercised in the case of self-financing, the incurring of debts to the banking system and the issue of long-term loans. Thus we should forget the idea of a reservoir of money or quasi-money responding obediently and inevitably to undifferentiated market demands. In this field too, the real situation is that of Adam Smith's "tacit coalition of masters"; it continually exercises pressure on the ▶

▶ behaviour of the Small, whether they be businesses or nations.

In the commodity trade, the law of compared anticipated costs product by product, supplies a solution which is correct in abstract terms. The trouble is that here too the struggle between monopolies and their groups is the general rule, and it is practically impossible to forecast future compared costs. Those who hold financial power are liable to make mistakes, the effects of which are aggravated by the extent of concentrated supply of and demand for credit and by the spreading out over a long period of commitments and dates at which payments are due. As the defects which occur at one point are propagated through banking and financial networks, which are highly complex, always sensitive and become nervous as soon as the first signs of difficulty arise, the germs of financial crises appear to be inherent in developed and innovative industrial systems. The importance of major enterprises and nations leads to a call to reason; their collapse would be a disaster for everyone.

The instability of financial capital and its last-minute rescue raise serious questions.

When a developing country is criticized for its over ambitious plans, who is really being blamed? The country itself as a whole, or the multinational companies and financial groups which have established themselves in it? The tax for economic recovery will fall on all the citizens, but did their legal representatives play an effective role in taking the decisions which are criticized?

On the other hand the disasters of the financial crisis are avoided because the money, the currency, and quasi currency *were available*. Why and by whose decision are they only brought into play as a last resort? Would the general interest not be better served by prompt action? Is it politically desirable to give the impression that finance only comes out into the open when and how it chooses?

Constant experience shows that today's changing financial situation is largely in the hands of Central Banks and Governments which decide on a budget deficit. The economic brakes which date from the end of the nineteenth century have so far slackened that they have lost most of their effectiveness.

The cumulative effects are widespread. The key currency (by definition it is always to some extent dominant), today the dollar, reaches levels which cannot be explained in terms of commercial exchanges, while its fluctuations are connected with speculative capital movements sheltered by the principle of non-intervention.

The excessively high interest rates in the United States and the gloomy procession of rates which follow in their wake can only be explained in terms of anticipations which are totally alien to classical norms. When the community expects an increase in money supply, high interest rates may increase demand for bank finance instead of reducing it.

The burden of indebtedness on financial costs and the reduction of gross anticipated profit margins reduce the growth rate and, in the worst cases, involve the liquidation of assets. There is nothing mechanical or automatic about these linkages, no more than there is in debt repayment, the positive effects of which may herald an economically justified increase in product. But the resulting contagious and cumulative difficulties of payment may call for intervention by the Central Bank and the Treasury.

The amount of distress caused by these sequences of events varies widely between the developing countries and the developed countries. The cyclical movements of the last century showed that it is always the unprivileged classes which bear the brunt of recessions and contractions. Is it false to extend such an observation to the nations of the world?

■ **François Perroux**

"A trend reversal which will restore to the developing countries their capacity to produce food to satisfy domestic demand, by reducing the emphasis on export-directed agriculture or redirecting it, is a necessary task which is bound to take a long time. It calls for a restructuring which conflicts with the immediate interests of the established industries." Peanuts ready for export, Kano, Nigeria.

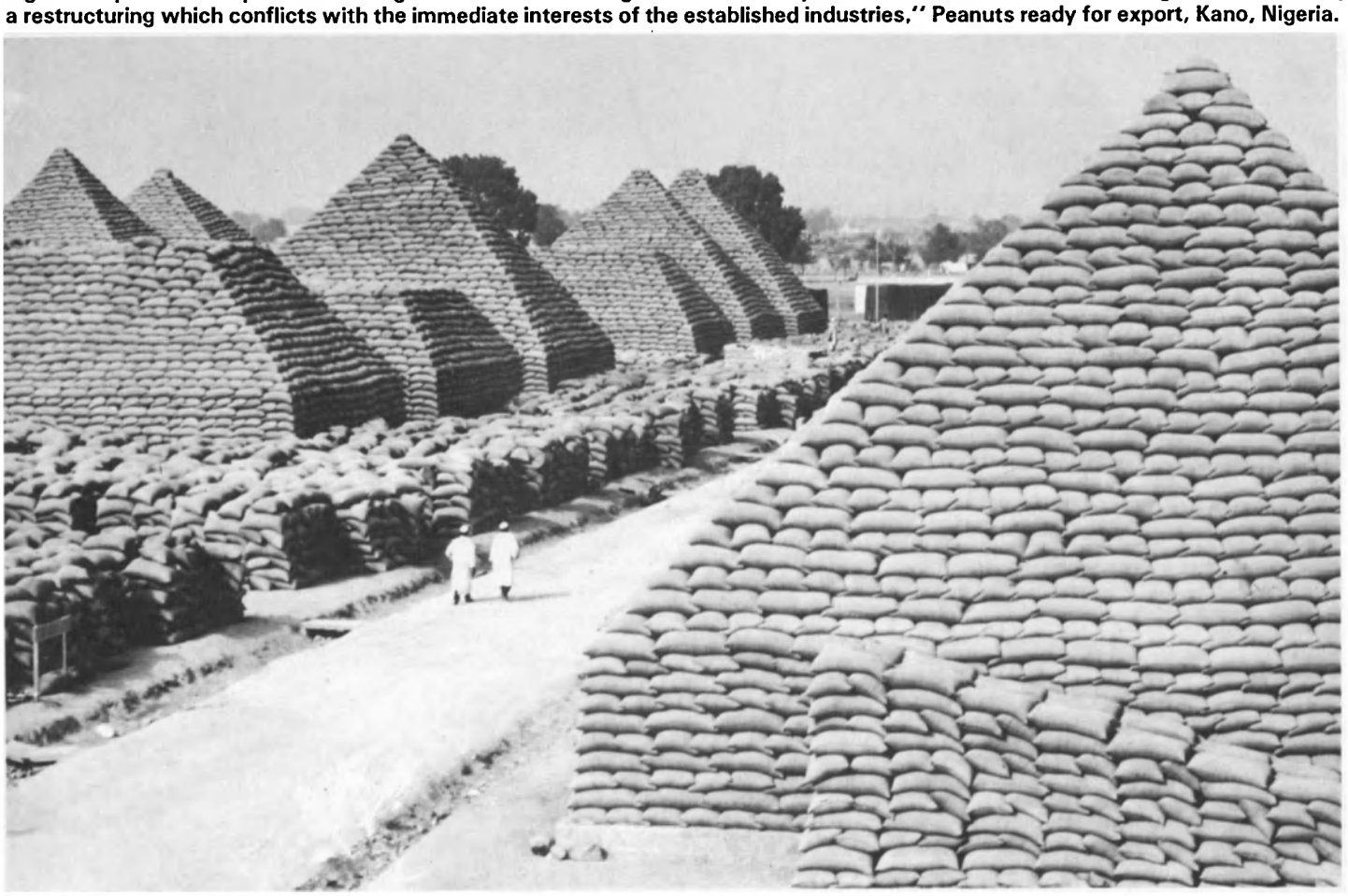

Photo Philippe Billere © Rapho, Paris

Is crime a universal concept?

by Henri Laborit

WHAT is *culture?* Is a "cultivated" person more, or less likely, to become a criminal? Although any definition of a word limits, narrows and fossilizes its semantic content, I would be inclined to define culture as the sum total of the commonplaces, prejudices, value judgments and conceptual automatisms to be found in a human group occupying a particular place at a certain period, and accumulated by experience in the course of its history.

The fact is that a human group in a particular geo-climatic area creates a set of relationships between the individuals who compose it, although it is unaware of the many factors that enter into this creative process. These relationships are achieved through language and behaviour patterns belonging to the group in question and which in turn are conditioned by the geo-climatic area in which they occur. These relationships become institutionalized in written laws, customs and concepts which reflect automatisms that have been learned, transmitted and reproduced from one generation to the next.

A criminal is someone who transgresses these laws. This amounts to saying that he who is a criminal in one place will not necessarily be one elsewhere. The criminal is defined by the cultural code of behaviour. In one place, the individual who expresses opinions at variance with the State's ideology is regarded as psychotic and perverse and is locked up and treated with drugs, whereas elsewhere the individual whose behaviour does not conform to the idea of property is regarded as delinquent and perverse and is subjected to the same kind of treatment. The only difference is in the code and the scale of values.

Now, it is interesting to note that legally the criminal is someone who attacks persons, but also goods, and that persons are themselves generally regarded as goods or private property.

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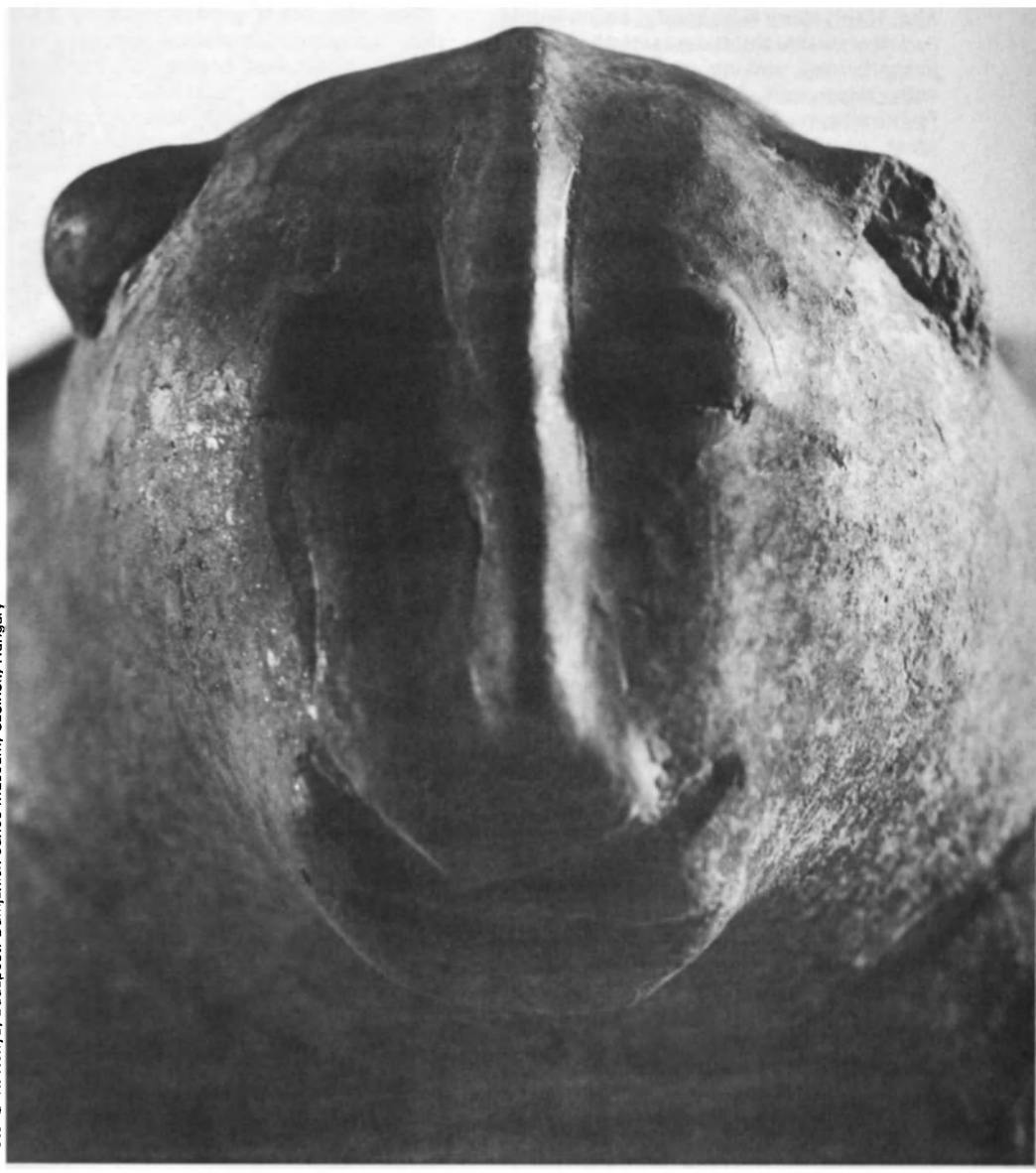

Photo © K. Konya, Budapest. Damjanich János Museum, Szolnok, Hungary

"Amongst animals (...) the dominating being no longer has occasion to be aggressive and violent as long as his dominant status is not contested, because the dominated parties will have learned to their cost the rules of behaviour which must not be broken; they will, as it were, have learned the 'culture' of the group or species. The hierarchies of domination amongst men have been based on the same laws since the beginning of the neolithic age." Above, head of an animal, probably a bear, from the lid of a clay vase dating from the late Bronze Age in Hungary (2200-2100 BC). It was discovered near Tiszafüred, in eastern Hungary.

The idea of property is never called into question. It is accepted as forming part of man's "essence", and this is done without any attempts to ascertain its historical or geographical origins or to consider what mechanism in man's nervous system has made it possible for the idea of property to be given expression. And yet, certain societies and "cultures" have never known property and even today there are still a few which are capable of ignoring it. It can be proved by experiment that the idea of pro-▶

perty is not innate or instinctive, but is learnt. Indeed if it were instinctive, must man not "control his instincts"? Perhaps, but only if the latter are harmful to the identity and cohesion of the group, in other words if they do not conform to the code of behaviour institutionalized by the dominant element.

It would take too long here to examine the biological laws, complex but capable of simplification, which regulate the activity of a human nervous system in a social situation. Suffice it to say that the sole function of a nervous system is to permit action and that, in man, thought only enables action to be made more effective. A nervous system thus permits an individual to control his living conditions in the space surrounding him. If this space were empty, action would be unnecessary. But it contains objects and living beings, and an organism's contact with these will be favourable or unfavourable to what may be called (with great caution) the maintenance of its biological "equilibrium". The sole *raison d'être* of a being is to be, otherwise there would be no beings. Therefore he learns very quickly from experience that contact with some of these objects and beings is gratifying and that contact with others is painful, dangerous and harmful to his well-being. He will remember this experience and will try to reproduce the gratifying experience, whereas he will avoid disagreeable experience or, if he cannot, will try to destroy its cause. But if, within the same space, another individual of the same species who has himself had the same experience wishes to enjoy the same objects and the same beings, both of them will say "they are mine" and a contest will take place between them for the desired objects or beings. Amongst animals, the stronger one, or the one born of a dominant female, will be more likely to assert his domination and to seize the gratifying good.

The hierarchical scales of ascendancy will be established on this theme, which we have presented in an extremely simplified form, for it has many different modalities. The dominating being will no longer have occasion to be aggressive and violent as long as his dominant status is not contested, because the dominated parties will have learned to their cost the rules of behaviour which must not be broken; they will have, as it were, learned the "culture" of the group or species.

The hierarchies of domination amongst men have been based on the same laws since the beginning of the neolithic age, when they settled on the land and agriculture and animal husbandry enabled them to avoid famine and, by laying up reserves of beneficial goods—grains and live animals—to have no further fears for their immediate biological welfare. Then came vocational specialization, and urban society, a more complex body than the primitive clan, made its appearance. This transformation took place over thousands of years during which human groups that were technically less developed but were composed of hunters still skilled in the use of arms, colonized these neolithic groups in order to benefit from their technical advances.

The population growth resulting from this "economic" evolution induced these groups, which had become hierarchically organized (chief, warriors, craftsmen, farmers) to sally forth and conquer territories elsewhere which might increase their resources. The concept of personal or group ownership of gratifying goods, which according to many prehistorians arose at this stage of the history of man, i.e. about 6000 BC, was accompanied by the emergence of criminality between individuals and States, in other words, war. Whenever the basic motivation is the immediate survival of the group in a hostile environment, co-operation is more essential than crime.

The human brain gave special features to the creation of hierarchies and to the means of establishing forms of domination. Owing to certain associative cortical zones, only the human species was capable of associating previous experiences in an original manner in an "imagined" context and therefore of producing working hypotheses and creating new forms by transforming, first of all matter, then, more recently, energy. Thus the species was able to protect itself with ever greater efficacy through a progressively better understanding of the laws governing the inanimate world.

"The concept of personal or group ownership of gratifying goods, which according to many prehistorians arose about 6000 BC, was accompanied by the emergence of criminality between individuals and States, in other words, war." Right, *Cain Kills Abel* (1511), woodcut by Albrecht Durer (1471-1538).

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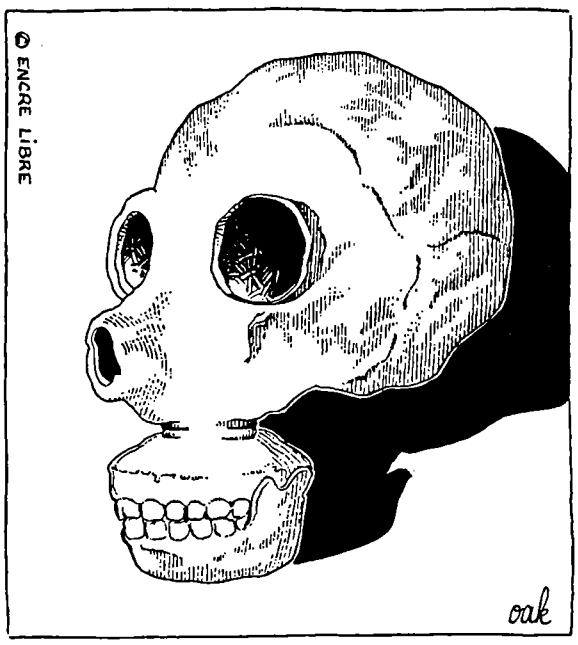
"The essential means of establishing relations of domination amongst peoples was the discovery of the principal laws governing the inanimate world, which led to the production of greater quantities and varieties of marketable goods and of more efficient arms to conquer new territories for exploitation." Above, drawing by Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) of a cannon being mounted on a gun carriage in a foundry yard.



"From the very beginning men were plunged into an incomprehensible, fearful world for which they had no rules of action. They have made remarkable efforts to introduce some form of coherent order into it, which have resulted in the discovery of fire and of the atom." Left, *Homo nuclearis*, cartoon by Oak.

Drawing Oak © *Encre Libre*, Paris

Spoken language, followed by writing, both of which also resulted from the phylogenic evolution of this "imagining" brain, enabled the generations to transmit their experiences in time and to accumulate them, very slowly at the outset, then in an ever more rapid and sophisticated manner, up to the point where our modern means of communication shrink time and therefore also space.

"Cultures" were established and evolved at the same speed as that of technical progress. It was the latter that enabled marketable goods to be created which could be exchanged with other human groups at ever greater distances in space. The essential means of establishing relations of domination amongst peoples was the discovery of the principal laws governing the inanimate world, which led to the production of greater quantities and varieties of marketable goods and of more efficient arms to conquer new territories for exploitation.

At the group level, the aristocratic power of the warrior was replaced by that of the bourgeois who controlled the means of production and trade, which in turn gave way to that of the technocrat who invents productive machinery and of the bureaucrat who manages production relations.

Thus the means may have changed, but the objective remains the same—the establishment of dominant positions in order to obtain beneficial goods, of which the ideal image which the individual forms of himself is not the least. Only in the physical sciences has progress been achieved. As far as the living world, especially the world that lives within us, is concerned, we have not evolved since the beginning of the neolithic period. Biology, especially that of our nervous system, which expresses itself in our modes of behaviour, is only in its infancy.

During all this time, men were speaking. From the very beginning they were plunged into an incomprehensible, fearful world, for they had no rules of action. They have made remarkable efforts to introduce some form of coherent order into it. Convinced that they were subjects apart in this world because of what they called their "reflective conscience" and their belief in their liberty, in order to hide the anxiety caused by lack of information and which frustrated effective action, they had to invent the laws and rules which dictate their actions. These were the myths, religions, moralities and State laws.

Henceforth, since they no longer had to ask themselves what they should do, their anxiety was partly hidden. Nevertheless it continued to be a fundamental anxiety, not for their liberty which existed only in their imagination but which validated responsibility, but rather anxiety due to their ignorance, especially when confronted with death.

Thus "cultures", infinite in variety and number, fulfilled only one function in their attempts to become established in languages—to co-ordinate the actions of individuals within a human group, in other words, to give permanent form to the structure of the group. We have already shown how and why, since neolithic times, in the ▶

▶ world's temperate zones, this structure had always been a hierarchical structure of domination. Nevertheless language was a splendid means of communication and therefore a remarkable means of action. By and through language we could influence the action of others in favour of our gratifying projects. Through language, inhibitions to action could be dealt with, the anxiety resulting from such inhibitions could be eliminated and a biological equilibrium established. As a result, that aggressiveness between individuals, which is the only resort open to those who cannot make themselves heard, diminished.

If therefore, as world statistics show, criminality between individuals has declined considerably in recent centuries, contrary to what the mass media try to make us believe, it is perhaps because literacy and the use of language have become so generalized that, as the French sociologist Jean-Michel Bessette has been able to demonstrate on the basis of reliable statistics, crime is now confined to those who are incapable of expressing themselves, or who can only give inadequate expression to what they have to say.

But, whereas language is a means of action for the individual, for the social group it is most frequently a pretext for violence. Logical discourse has always provided "good" reasons to defend a "good" cause by war, genocide and torture. Language has always made it possible to justify *raison d'état*. When we pass from the inter-individual level of organization to that of the State, the purpose of language changes.

Now this intangible abstract structure called the State is merely the legalized institutionalization of the hierarchical relationships of domination between the individuals who compose it. The individual may not infringe certain pre-established rules in order to commit a murder, whereas the State has every right to kill, either within the group in order to preserve the rules establishing the hierarchies of domination, or outside it, against another State trying to establish its domination over it or over which it seeks to establish its own domination.

Thus it seems that it is not culture or criminality and the relationships between them that should be studied, but the finality of the social groups and the central nervous mechanisms which enable individuals to establish relationships between each other, the establishment of forms of domination in terms of this finality.

Probably the readiness with which the mass media report interindividual crimes is merely a response to the needs of States to have their own crimes forgotten and to create a state of anxiety which thrusts the "citizen" into their arms. These arms are the army and the police which protect persons and property according to a set of rules that form the distinguishing features of a "culture". The latter is always the culture of the dominant elements, that is to say of those who submit to the finality of the system because they benefit from it.

The immigrant problem is an example. Whenever their labour is needed to produce goods, because machines have not yet completely replaced man in his most "thermodynamic" activities, they are welcome. But when machines are invented which can perform these mechanical tasks and this leads to increased unemployment, these immigrants take away from the citizen the remaining mechanical tasks. They deprive him of the benefit of remunerated work. They must be got rid of. The cultural shock which is often invoked thus seems to be secondary.

Are our immigrants more criminally inclined than we, the "natives", are? They would seem to have every reason to be so—their inability to make full use of the same language and therefore to influence others through it, the fact that it is impossible for them to have an ideal image of themselves which could vie with that of the natives even when the latter are at the bottom of the social ladder and the resultant subjection, not to laws or to a "culture", but primarily to a form of domination that is reflected in the native's attitude of exclusion and contempt. In a period of economic crisis, the immigrant becomes a scapegoat—somebody has to be found outside the social group, "somebody else", who can be made responsible for its misfortunes.

As far as the number of victims is concerned, there is no comparison between casual crimes and road accidents. The latter are regarded as normal and, as it were, "healthy", because they are a result of economic development. It is the former which receive attention, because they enable individual members of the group to see themselves as belonging to a chosen race or elite. By banishing the criminal into outer darkness, they ensure the cohesion of the group through the flattering image which each member of it has of himself because he belongs to the group. As the French author Fernand Gregh wrote, "There are no wicked, there are only those who suffer".

The innumerable factors of suffering in the case of the criminal can all be put down to a single biological law—the inhibition of his gratifying action. We think we have produced sufficient experimental proofs in recent years that this reality embraces the whole of pathology including that of behaviour. Violence amongst individuals is the violence of those who are not heard, whose voice is lost in the background noise of the socio-culture, those for whom the ultimate form of violence may be suicide, which is tolerated by the social group because its forces usually arrive too late to prevent it and it does not compromise the cohesion of the group. But to prove this statement our study must begin with the molecule and end at the level of the species.

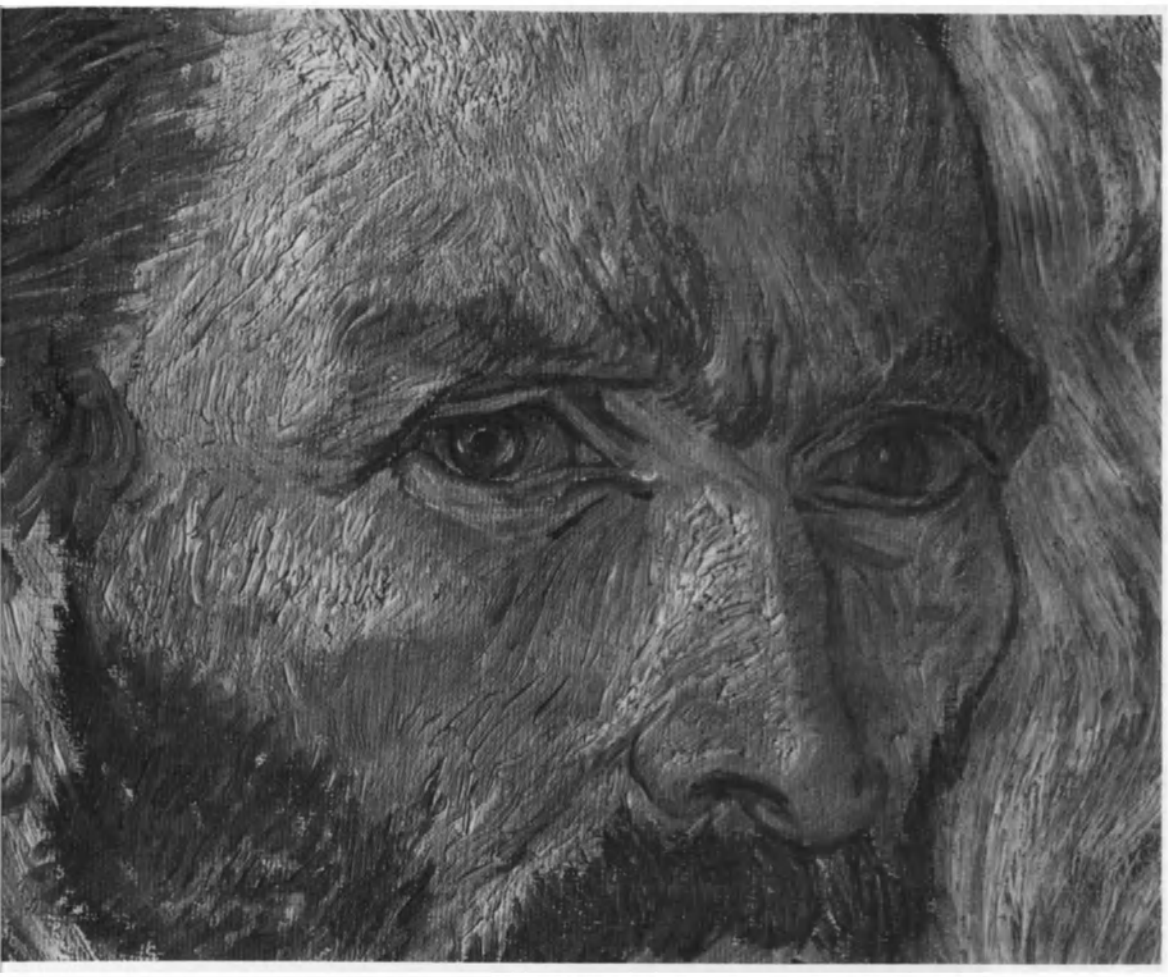
In fact, every expert who has studied violence and described its "causes" has done so only at the level of organization covered by his speciality. The politician, the economist, the sociologist, the anthropologist, the psychologist, the psychiatrist, the philosopher and in more recent times the ethologist, the behaviourist, the neuro-physiologist and the biochemist have all provided excellent explanatory reasons in an outmoded system of linear causality. It is high time for these studies to be combined into a coherent "system" according to inclusive and included levels of organization, which must have regard to the essential instrument of expression of violence, namely, the human nervous system, and to what we already know about its biochemical, anatomical and functional structure wherever this structure is placed in a social situation. We must even take the history of our species into consideration in our efforts to understand the problem. We must also avoid any facile solution based on innateness, on an "essence" of man, on instincts which are always available, depending on the ideology which inspires the speaker (i.e. the expression of the unconscious automatized in a "culture") to serve as an alibi for State violence or as an excuse or condemnation of individual violence.

But in our opinion it is essential not to mix the levels of organization. Each level has its own structure which should not be superimposed by analogy on to the overlying or underlying level. Above all, the structural and functional links which connect them must be identified, care being taken not to turn words into tangible objects. One can touch one's father, one's brother, one's friends, but one cannot touch the family, the State, the mother country, because they are not things but abstract concepts which personify a structure.

Now a structure consists of all the relationships existing between the elements of a whole, and a relationship cannot be touched. It is neither matter nor energy, it is information which is given a form. Thus, a nation may be understood as a structure or a set of relationships uniting the individuals who live in a given geoclimatic space and who in the course of time have invented a "culture", that is a language and a form of behaviour which are effective within this space. But instead of allowing this "regional" structure to decide for itself what type of economic, political and cultural relationships it wants to have with the encompassing system (regional self-sufficiency is no longer conceivable nowadays) why inflict upon it the rules of behaviour of the encompassing system, the State which, as we have already said, is the expression of a hierarchical structure of aristocratic, theocratic, bourgeois, technocratic or bureaucratic domination? Why teach black children that their ancestors were the Gauls when the Bretons are being forbidden to use Breton?

It does seem that one must be profoundly regionalist in order to be truly internationalist and a citizen of the world, just as one must be profoundly individualist in order to admit that one's neighbour is different.

■ **Henri Laborit**



"One day Van Gogh's art will come back into its own (...) blowing the dust away from a world in chains that his heart could no longer bear", wrote the French poet Antonin Artaud. All Van Gogh's works can be seen as an individual's intense struggle against the violence of a society that rejected him, and his suicide (1890) as a horrific escape from solitude. The torment on the face of the artist in the self-portrait above, painted in 1889, contrasts starkly with the serene countenance of the 12th-century Japanese statue in wood (below) of a *Bodhisattva* (one destined to become a buddha).

Photos taken from *La nuit Appelle l'Aurore*, by René Huyghe and Ikeda
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Culture shock and criminality

by Miguel Rojas Mix

HISTORY offers few better examples of the link between acculturation and criminality than the trial by Francisco Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru, of Atahualpa, the last sovereign of the Incas. Atahualpa was sentenced to death for the proven crimes of idolatry, incest, polygamy and subversion. He died without understanding what it was all about. For him, his legitimate wife had to be his sister, he was incapable of conceiving that there could be superior gods to his own and he had never heard of a higher king against whom he could rebel. A change in the terms of reference had transformed what was normal or even pious and sacred into a capital crime.

Atahualpa's condemnation symbolizes what an encounter between two cultures can lead to, and how criminality can emerge from the conflict between them. At the dawn of American history (as Westerners would put it) acculturation was a massive social process imposed by a colonialist minority on an indigenous majority, and it was started by outlawing the latter's culture.

As a general rule, whenever acculturation is at issue it is regarded as something that affects only non-Westerners. The Westerner brings his own culture along with him and imposes it. Many people still find it difficult to regard the excesses of colonialism as crimes. For long, Western violations of the rights of so-called primitive societies (once I was corrected and told that it was anachronistic to speak of the "rights of primitive societies") were not treated as crimes. The term used was "civilizing process".

Since the eighteenth century, when Vico and Herder put forward the idea of a universal history led by progress, with Europe at its head, the West has allowed itself to break all the laws of the non-Western peoples in the name of progress. To consider this a crime would have seemed as strange as to describe as a thief the archaeologist who removed Aztec antiquities to the great museums of the West. The Third World has no "property", only "treasures" and they were not "stolen" but "discovered". They were *res nullius,* they belonged to no one.

Nowadays there are other massive acculturation processes which do not involve the movement of colonists overseas but take place in the metropolitan countries themselves, in industrial centres or—as is more frequently the case—on the outskirts of the big cities of the West. These are the acculturation processes of the immigrant.

Even now the term *acculturation* is still understood to be a one-way process. Like the notion of exoticism (1) it is not reciprocal but denotes only that which is strange to a Westerner. This disparity is still maintained. In many Third World countries acculturation of the European does not arise because his status depends upon his being European. The identities of "bwana" or "sahib" are not criminogenous and do not imply a depreciation of a person's identity but rather its enhancement. In Latin America there are even compact European colonies, regular enclaves in which not only is the mother country's culture preserved but the writ of an extra-territorial law runs.

Depending on the ability of the two cultures to communicate, the cultural shock will vary in violence and in the scope for dialogue. In practice, cultural relations seem to operate better at a distance, in the form of occasional exchanges of exhibitions and theatrical performances rather than in the form of everyday dialogue in the ghettos of great industrial cities. In France and the Federal Republic of Germany, host countries to large immigrant populations, the cultural shock is less violent for a Spaniard or Portuguese than for a North African and greater for an immigrant of rural origin than for one of urban middle-class background.

In fact, acculturation presupposes the existence of a dominant society and consequently a depreciation of the culture of origin. This is accelerated by two sets of circumstances which are frequently linked to each other in the country of adoption, namely, the processes of civic assimilation and legal marginalization. Essentially the civic assimilation process occurs in the second generation through the education system and life in the urban community. Marginality results from a chronic feeling of insecurity and uncertainty about the future. It is certainly economic in character but it is also largely legal, being associated with such events as the renewal of residence and work permits and especially with the threat of expulsion.

The result of this depreciation of the culture of origin, to which must be added in many cases racial prejudice, incomprehension, intolerance and, generally, all the dif-

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Photo © Charles Carrié, Paris

"Obstinate attachment to the culture of origin (...) is also manifested in exile in the form of an exaggerated love of traditional customs (...) religious ceremonies and celebrations." Above, carnival time in Brixton, London, for immigrants from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

The notion of the "right to be different" has little meaning when "The Other" is looked upon merely as a source of labour for the most unpleasant tasks and his customs and traditions are rejected. Left, immigrant workers tarring a street in Paris.

Photo Rémi Berli © Rapho, Paris

ficulties of coexistence, is that cultural identity becomes a matter of questioning instead of self-acceptance. The response to this questioning will be either a search for identity or flight from it.

The search for identity is often reflected in an obstinate attachment to the culture of origin, which is idealized, especially by the second generation which did not know it *in situ*. Material links with the homeland are tenaciously maintained or renewed, houses are bought in the native village and holidays are spent there, the journey home being made in a big car whose importance is less as a means of transport than as a success symbol with which to impress the folks at home. This ritual is important because it enables the emigrant to recover the esteem of his former neighbours, even if it is only in a remote, forgotten village.

This attachment is also manifested in exile in the form of an exaggerated love of traditional customs. From time to time religious ceremonies, celebrations, and traditional dishes enable the immigrant, like Antaeus, to recover his strength by symbolically treading his native soil. This form of behaviour, typical of the first generation, contributes to deferring the conflict of identity to their children and even to their grandchildren. The identity problem, which is faced by all adolescents, is particularly acute for the young immigrant, who has to assert himself both in the host country and in his family group.

In their obstinate attachment to the country of their birth, immigrants do not realize that customs change rapidly and that they themselves become cultural anachronisms, isolated colonies perpetuating models that are already obsolete.

By changing his social milieu the immigrant loses the reference group in which his identity was recognized, and even if he does his best to behave in accordance with the norms of the host country, his personality is called into question because of the culture difference. This is felt as an injustice, leads to a sense of insecurity and may provoke reactions of various kinds in the individual concerned. It may lead him to seek a compromise and to assume a chameleon-like identity. Typical of this is the Muslim who observes Qur'anic rules at home but eats pork and drinks wine with his workmates in the canteen. On the other hand it may cause him to become aggressive. But especially it may lead him into a situation of fundamental uncertainty as regards social models because he will discover the lack of coherence between the host culture and his own, and this may produce in him an attitude of hostility to all value systems. He then finds himself in a situation of *anomia* (lawlessness) which may transform him into an antisocial or asocial person, not only in his adopted country but also in his family's country of origin.

Where it is conflictual or there is incompatibility between two life styles and two value systems, the cultural shock is of relevance to the problem of criminality. What is more natural in Mediterranean cultures than to administer a couple of slaps to a naughty youngster? In Sweden, however, this is forbidden by law and what is a purely family affair becomes a criminal act. This apparently commonplace example ▶

▶ poses the question of the criminal intentions of the individual in a state of cultural transition who commits an offence of this kind.

Another, much more dramatic, example concerns certain communities where the father makes an attempt on the life of his daughter because she has broken the rules of premarital chastity. For the father the essential matter is to purge the disgrace and save the family's honour, an action which courts in his society treat with considerable leniency, whereas in the West it is an extremely serious offence. Is the fact that the offender was complying with the code of his culture of origin taken into account? Is the question asked what kind of behaviour should be expected of the individual concerned? The problem is how to determine precisely the degree of culpability of this cultural nomad, who has not absorbed the system of values of the host society.

On the other hand, where the criminality of the immigrant is concerned it should be pointed out that the acculturation problem must be considered in conjunction with other criminogenous circumstances which affect society as a whole, such as social and economic factors and the urban problem.

Many young offenders come from ghetto communities. The formation of gangs leads to early delinquency, often only occasional but always dramatized and socially inacceptable. It has also been established that ghettos favour recidivism. This group delinquency offers a solution to the problem of flight from identity. The ghetto enables a second generation which feels completely marginal to respond to the questioning mentioned above by forming itself into a cohesive minority.

Broadly speaking, criminality through acculturation occurs only in two kinds of circumstances—where it is a product of two systems of social images in which one of them prohibits what the other permits or even commands, and where it is a product of cultural transition and the psychological factors created by the latter. In any case it must be observed that in spite of these additional difficulties the incidence of criminality does not seem to be significantly higher amongst immigrants than amongst the native population.

But does this exhaust the subject of criminality through acculturation? Up to now we have considered only the case of the foreigner. But how should we classify racialist crimes committed against immigrant workers? Are they also attributable to acculturation? At least they reflect a conflictual shock between two cultures.

Cultural dialogue between societies living side by side, dialogue with minorities, presupposes—much more so than the dialogue at a distance to which we referred earlier—a modification of social images, not only on the part of the minorities but on that of society as a whole; otherwise minorities will eventually become unacceptable. There seems to be a tendency for migrants to settle permanently in the host country. This involves a fundamental change in ideas about "the Other", about one's neighbours, and more directly, a campaign against racialism, whether it be ethnic, cultural or political.

It is difficult to explain criminality

Photo Y. Nagata, United Nations

"Whenever acculturation is at issue it is regarded as something that affects only non-Westerners. The Westerner brings his own culture along with him and imposes it (...) By culture is meant a vision of the world which includes a system of values and which finds expression in a way of life". Above, automobile cemetery on the banks of the Choluteca River, Tegucigalpa, Honduras.

through acculturation otherwise than as the result of the failure of a society to integrate an exogenous group while at the same time protecting the latter's right to its own identity. Any integration policy raises a series of questions which do not so much demand answers as point to a number of certainties. It is inconceivable, for instance, that young people of the second generation of immigrants should feel threatened by expulsion to a country of origin they have never known. Equally unacceptable is any action aimed at imposing conformity on another's culture in the name of ideals or slogans which are completely alien to it, such as feminism or ecology, however relevant these movements may be in the host country.

The fact is that only a culturally pluralist society can provide an answer to these questions, and only insofar as it eschews dogmatic models. Cultural pluralism in the sense of respect for regional and immigrant cultures is something which the developed world must preserve. External colonialism, now a thing of the past, must not be replaced by colonialist policies towards minorities. It is inadmissible that the sole logic and reason of history should be economic growth, which seeks higher returns by uniformizing society.

But pluralism implies that ghettos, isolation and cultural enclaves must be avoided too. To ensure this, minorities must participate on equal terms in the organization of society as a whole. How can this be achieved? Perhaps by recognizing their political rights.

Apart from this, we should not overlook the real or potential importance of the growth of hybrid creative activities, especially when they succeed in ridding themselves of the clichés that are castrating them. They are one kind of response from those young people who are looking for new models. In practice, these models reflect the conflict between the big city and the Third World, like that of the Rastafarians (2) or their marginality, even in the legal sense. The most popular musical group founded by North Africans in France is called "Carte de Séjour" (Residence Permit).

This hybrid creative activity forms part of the mental decolonization process, and will become increasingly necessary as the inhabitants of the big cities of the West come into ever closer contact with the Third World, not by crossing the Ocean but in the suburbs of their cities. It will be conducted by the immigrant, not through servile acceptance of the values of the host society but by realizing that he is creating new values with them. But it also implies abandoning the illusion that the values of the past can be preserved, and understanding that the past can only be preserved as a ferment to develop the roots of a future identity.

The West, for its part, will be able to accept and contribute to this hybrid creativity only when it abandons its paternalistic universalism, retaining of it only that element which does not oppress the immigrant; when it takes notice of the deleterious effects of its culture; when it ceases to deify itself and to treat as backward those societies which are experiencing acculturation; and when it stops killing Atahualpa merely because he is Atahualpa.

■ **Miguel Rojas Mix**

(1) The Larousse "Lexis" dictionary of the French language defines exoticism as "all the characteristics which distinguish what is foreign from what appertains to Western civilization".

(2) Rastafarians: members of a Jamaican religious and political movement which takes its name from Ras Tafari, *as Emperor Haile Selassie was known before he was crowned in 1930. (See* Unesco Courier, *December 1981).*

"*Mestizo* (hybrid) creative activity forms part of the mental decolonization process." It will develop not from servile acceptance of the values of the host society but from realization that from them new values are being created. Below, a performance by *Carte de Séjour* (Residence Permit) a musical group formed by north Africans resident in France.

Photo Michel Jaget © Camera, Villeurbanne, France

UNESCO NEWSROOM

Unesco Prize for Peace Education

The 1983 Unesco Prize for Peace Education has been awarded to Pax Christi International which was founded in 1945 by a small group of French and German Catholics united by prayer and wishing to pave the way for reconciliation between their 2 peoples. Today, its horizons extending to the far-reaching problems of world peace, it is represented in 35 countries on 5 continents. At a recent ceremony held at Unesco HQ in Paris, the Director-General, Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow presented the prize to Mgr Bettazzi, President of Pax Christi International and Bishop of Ivrea (Italy), recalling that the annual $60,000 award recognized outstanding activity to alert public opinion to the cause of peace.

Special notice

We ask our regular readers and new subscribers to excuse any possible delay in reception of the *Unesco Courier*. Recent disruptions in the French postal services have delayed reception of subscription and subscription renewal requests and have considerably increased routing times of our last few issues.

International Fair Play Awards

Swedish tennis champion Mats Wilander was recently awarded the international Pierre de Coubertin Fair Play Trophy for an act of sportsmanship at the 1982 French International Championships, when he persuaded the umpire to order a replay of the match point he had just been awarded in the semi-final. At a ceremony at Unesco HQ in Paris diplomas of honour were also presented to 4 other sportsmen: athlete Francisco Julio Ardisson of Portugal, French footballer Patrick Battiston, Argentinian pelote player Ricardo Bizozero, and Hungarian skater András Georgenyi. Wilander, who was unable to attend the Paris ceremony, had previously received his trophy from the Director-General in Stockholm.

Mr. Patrick Seddoh, of Ghana, has been elected chairman of Unesco's Executive Board for the next two years. He succeeds Mr. Victor Massuh, of Argentina.

School and the arts

Unesco's International Fund for the Promotion of Culture is giving its support to a project for the integration of performing arts—theatre, fine arts, music and dance—in secondary schools. Proposed by the Argentine-born/US composer Julia Stilman, the project has the backing of the International Society of Music Educators, which is an affiliate of the International Music Council, the International Association of Art, the *Conseil International de la Danse* and the *Institut International du Théâtre*. This new form of instruction would be adopted in selected "pilot" schools for an initial period of four years. Preparations are in hand for a preliminary symposium, to be attended by twenty-five international experts, at which the new teaching formula and its relationship with the cultural heritage of each country will be examined. The French composer Michel Fano has said of Julia Stilman's musical works that "marked by a remarkable manipulation of timbre, they carry the attentive listener into a new and impassioned realm of poetry." The US choreographer Carolyn Carlson is to give a presentation of Stilman's *Barcarola*, a cantata for soloists, chorus and orchestra on a poem by Pablo Neruda, at the music and dance festival La Rochelle 84.

BOOKSHELF

Recent Unesco Publications

■ **World List of Social Science Periodicals.** Details on over 3,500 periodicals published world-wide. Prepared by the Unesco Social Science Documentation Centre with the co-operation of the International Committee for Social Science Information and Documentation. 6th edition revised. 1983, 468 pp. (72 F).

■ **Cultural Policy in the People's Republic of China.** Letting a hundred flowers blossom, by Bai Lu. The latest publication in a series showing how cultural policies are planned and implemented in various Unesco Member States. 1983, 100 pp. (35 F).

■ **Elements of the Structure of Agricultural Education in the United States of America,** by David L. Howell *et al.* The latest in a series of studies intended to promote the dissemination and exchange of information on structures of agricultural education in Unesco Member States. 1983, 72 pp. (35 F).

■ **Coal Utilization.** The report on an international Unesco forum held in 1982 to discuss the prospects of technologies of coal utilization from technical and socio-economic points of view. Special attention was given to the problems of coal utilization in developing countries. 1983, 134 pp. (40 F).

■ **Recent Archaeological Discoveries in the Republic of Korea,** by Kim Won-Yong. A survey of 11 important excavations and discoveries. Co-published with the Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, Tokyo, which has exclusive sales rights in Japan. 1983, (approx. 70 F).

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The Unesco Courier is produced in microform (microfilm and/or microfiche) by: (1) University Microfilms (Xerox). Ann Arbor, Michigan 48100, U.S.A.; (2) N.C.R. Microcard Edition, Indian Head, Inc., 111 West 40th Street, New York, U.S.A.; (3) Bell and Howell Co., Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691, U.S.A.

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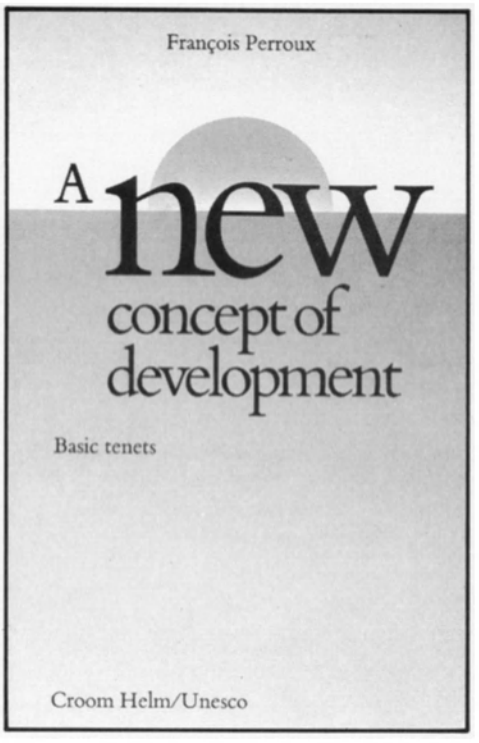
BRODARD GRAPHIQUE. COULOMMIERS - Dépôt légal C 1 - Janvier 1984 - IMPRIMÉ EN FRANCE (Printed in France)
PHOTOCOMPOSITION-PHOTOGRAVURE CHRISTIAN PAGNOUD - 6/8 rue des Epinettes - 75017 PARIS.



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A PORTENT FOR THE FUTURE

The Unesco General Conference 1983

Photo Michel Claude, Unesco

"THIS Conference opened in a climate which reflects the doubts and tensions of the world today. It closes in a victory for the spirit of tolerance and mutual understanding." These words from the closing address of Unesco Director-General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, sum up the flavour of the 22nd Session of the Unesco General Conference, held in Paris from 25 October to 26 November 1983.

During the early stages of the Conference, some Member States expressed reservations about the proposed budget for the two years 1984-1985. Agreement was finally reached on an increase in real terms of 4 per cent. There was general overall support for the draft programmes for the Organization for the next two years. The Conference stressed the interdependence and intersectoral character of the programmes adopted, the most important underlying themes of which were: The role of culture in development; The importance of the drive for literacy; The increasing role of informatics and modern technologies and the Organization's scientific programmes; The organic links between human rights and the rights of peoples; The importance of education for peace.

Altogether 2,126 delegates, representatives and observers attended the Conference. Among them were 1,751 delegates from 157 Member States (including 114 Government Ministers), representatives of an Associate Member of Unesco, of the Holy See, of 4 liberation movements, of 12 United Nations Organizations, as well as observers from 35 intergovernmental organizations and 131 international non-governmental organizations.

The Conference was honoured by the visits of four Heads of State, the President of the French Republic François Mitterrand, the President of the Republic of Cape Verde His Excellency Arístides María Pereira, the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Dominica the Honourable Mary Eugenia Charles, and His Majesty King Juan Carlos of Spain, as well as of His Royal Highness Prince Hassan of Jordan. Photo shows Unesco Director-General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow addressing the final session of the General Conference. Seated on the dais listening to him can be seen the Chairman of the General Conference Mr. Said M. Tell, of Jordan, and the outgoing Chairman of the Executive Board, Mr. Victor Massuh, of Argentina.